



**B.P. THE
QUIET
DECEIVER**

**INSIDE
SOUTH
AFRICA**

**CENTRAL
AMERICA**

**ROXBY
DOWNS**

**EAST
TIMOR**

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LETTERS



Dear Woroni,

On one of my all too frequent visits to Canberra I happened to read Bush Week Rag. Above the send-up of the ANU Liberal Society there was a graphic containing a swastika giving the impression that the Society was a fascist group.

Actions such as this tend to make the political label 'fascist' meaningless. When groups such as National Action are gaining support in the community and on campuses around Australia, it is naive to use the term 'fascist' to describe any group whose politics one opposes.

During the past 12 months the National Action (a group similar to the UK's National Front) has concentrated a lot of their efforts on intimidating Asian students on all of the Sydney campuses. In the recent SRC elections at Sydney University, a National Action candidate stood for the Presidency. These people are fascists, directing their hate towards Asians and Jews.

It is important that all students are made aware of what Australian fascism in the 1980's is all about and work towards its demise. Incidents such as Bush Week Rag only confuse the issue and add credibility to a political ideology which we should all be working to destroy.

Yours sincerely,
Mark Heyward
Inter-campus Liaison Officer
Sydney University SRC
National Secretary, Aust.
Liberal Students' Federation

Dear Editors,

Events over the past year have brought students' attention to the completely unnecessary use of threats and actual violence by the bouncers in the Union Bar. While I agree that it is necessary to have some form of security it is not necessary to instil fear into the patrons of the bar, which is after all run by and for students. It is becoming increasingly evident that the present Union Board is not taking a firm enough stand or indeed any action against this type of aggression. Who is running this Bar - the Union Board of Management or Union "security"?

In view of the forthcoming election it is up to the student body of this University to elect a Board whose policies will prevent any further use of "terror tactics" in the bar and thus truly have STUDENTS in charge of events in the STUDENTS' UNION. BAR

Kate Perkins

APOLOGY

As Director of Student Publications I sincerely apologise for the "parody" of Stuart Bullock's cartoon strip in the Bush Week Rag. There was no malice intended and I regret any offence it may have caused Stuart or others.

Bill Redpath, DSP

EDITORIAL

When the current Federal government was elected there was restrained optimism. While we all knew that Hawke et al would not adopt the brand of expansionary economics which characterized the Whitlam era, there was a feeling that there might be some respite for underprivileged groups. The Canberra Times banner headline of 24th August informed us that the 'budget provided "Help for the Jobless and Poor"'. This seems to ignore the fact that students are currently one of the poorest groups in Australian society. The current rate of TEAS which is well below the poverty line has been improved by only 5% and eligibility has not been extended to any great extent. It seems that we are doomed to suffer malnutrition and poor housing for yet another year.

So who do we blame? It would be quite easy and tempting to take our frustrations out on Susan Ryan, Minister for Education. A recent edition of the Griffith University newspaper Griffitti contained an interview with the Minister in which she indicated a realization of the gross inadequacies of the TEAS system and expressed an intention to rectify them. That she has not been able to do so might well be attributable to the recalcitrance of Cabinet rather than a lack of effort on her part. However it must be said that she has consistently failed to give interviews to Australian Union of Students lobbyists who have over the past few months attempted to see her.

How has our national union fared in the light of the budget? AUS has over the past few years adopted an approach which favours lobbying of parliamentarians and other influential people in an effort to improve access to further education. Grass roots organization, while it has not been completely neglected has nevertheless taken second place. The current leadership faction has assured us for the past few years that all we need to do is weather the storm of a monetarist coalition government. If/When the ALP government was elected all would be put right. Money was allocated to ALP coffers for the election campaign and we were assured that our investment would see a lucrative return. The failure of this to eventuate marks the failure of this type of politics. It is now obvious that in order to maximise effectiveness we need to concentrate on building popular support at campus level. No longer can we rely on the bureaucrats to achieve our goals.

Educational institutions are crucial sites of struggle in the battle against the interests of wealth and power. It is through such institutions as the Faculty of Economics at ANU that the ideology of monetarism is reproduced. It is this creed that has infested the Treasury and has had the greatest sway over Treasurer Keating. The introduction of a Political Economy course would be a great asset to the Faculty which is currently dogmatic in its approach. Struggles such as these are vital, they are indeed more important in the long run than lobbying parliamentarians.

ANZSSA LUNCH

Thursday, September 1st, 12-2pm

ANU Counselling Centre Group Room

"OVERSEAS STUDENTS" TRADITIONAL METHODS OF HEALING

What can we in Australia learn from other cultures about the way people who are suffering physical illnesses or mental stress are treated? What are the traditional methods of healing? To whom would they go for support?

Some students from other countries will be talking about the ways stress and sickness are treated in their societies.

Please bring your lunch and let us listen and learn from the wisdom of other traditions. Students are particularly welcome. Drinks will be provided.

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NOTICES

SELF-CONFIDENCE AND ASSERTION

How do people react when you try to get your point across? Are they friendly or do they turn away? Listen or switch off? Accept, or criticise? Uncertainty and fear about the other person's reaction lead to loss of confidence. And then you may overdo it aggressively - or underdo it non-assertively.

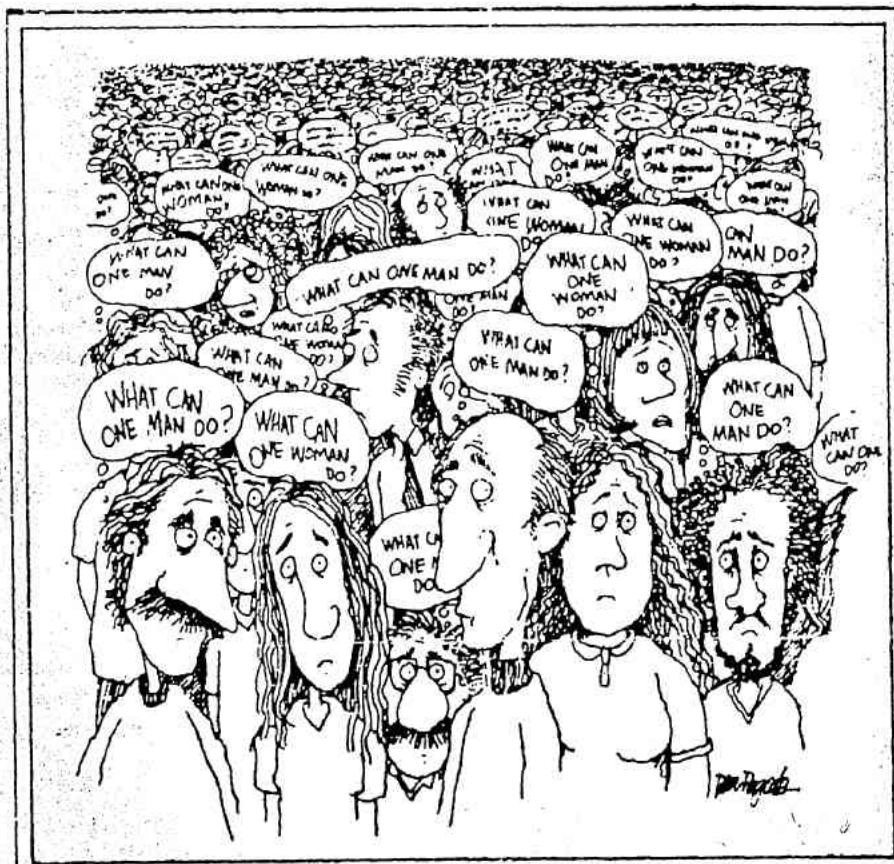
The Counselling Centre's Assertion workshops have helped many people, students and staff, to understand and modify their behaviour in ways which decrease uncertainty and fear and thereby increase confidence. Sometimes unassertiveness has been leading to defeat and discouragement; sometimes aggressiveness has been alienating others. Assertion training aims to overcome these difficulties in ways that do not infringe the rights of others.

The 1983 Assertion Workshop will take place 9.30-4.30 on Thursday and Friday, September 8 and 9, in the Centre's Group Room. The leaders are Leila Bailey and Geoff Mortimore. The registration fee is \$2 (there is no other charge) and enquiries and bookings may be made either at the Counselling Centre, above the Health Service or by ringing Jill Hardy on 2442. Be early, as these workshops are very popular.

NEXT DEADLINE:

FRIDAY

SEPTEMBER 2ND



ROXBY DOWNS

- THE URANIUM YOU MINE WHEN YOU'RE NOT MINING URANIUM.

This is the slogan of the latest and possibly the most important campaign against uranium mining in Australia. Roxby Downs (or the Olympic Dam Project as it's known in corporate and government circles) promises to become the largest, most productive uranium mine in the world.

You may have noticed (and perhaps even read) the Roxby Downs article in 'Woroni 8' which explains all the basic facts about the mine, why it is unsafe, uneconomic, etc. And, maybe you've decided that it is actually necessary to do something to stop it going ahead and destroying Aboriginal sacred sites, ruining the environment (who knows what harm pumping vast quantities of water out of the Great Artesian Basin and contaminating it with radionuclides could do?) and generally only being done to give the huge corporations involved (B.P. Australia and the Western Mining Corporation) enormous profits at great public cost.

The Roxby Downs Blockade organised by the Coalition for a Nuclear-Free Australia (CNFA) begins on August 27th and will continue until September 4th, possibly changing to a rolling blockade after that.

The blockade has several general aims,

as well as a set of specific demands aimed at halting further development of the Roxby Downs mine. Briefly the blockade aims to close Roxby Downs, to 'polarise and mobilise' public opinion and change ALP policy back to a moratorium on uranium mining, to educate people, publicize the issues, to reactivate the anti-nuclear trade union lobby and to show solidarity with the Kokatha people (the traditional owners of the land where the mine is situated).

The specific demands of the blockade mainly concentrate on government policy and actions which can be taken by the South Australian government to halt mining at Roxby. These include the return of state and federal ALP policy to its original anti-uranium stance, the review of the Indenture Bill and the 8 amendments the ALP proposed while in opposition, rejection of the Environmental Impact Statement as inadequate, and the refusal of export licences to Roxby Management Services.

It is essential that as many people as possible join the blockade to stop the mine going ahead. If you don't think you'll be able to make it to South Australia there are plenty of other things to do here in Canberra.

You can contact Friends of the Earth at the Environment Centre, Kingsley St., (473 064) and get involved in lobbying the government about stopping the mine, repealing the Hogg amendment (which allows uranium to be mined incidental to other minerals) and strengthening ALP policy to take a firm stance against uranium mining.

You could get involved in the boycott of BP, (known in anti-nuclear circles as "The Quiet Deceiver") designed to draw public attention to BP's less well publicised activities. (Contact the Student Disarmament Group for information on that). The S.D.G. will also be holding stalls at various times in the Union Foyer where more information on Roxby Downs will be available.

So -

**Come to the Blockade
Stop Roxby Downs**

by ANU Student Disarmament Group.

BOYCOTT B.P.

BOYCOTT B.P.

BOYCOTT B.P.

WHY BOYCOTT B.P.

- B.P. is involved in the largest Australian uranium mine project, Roxby Downs, in South Australia.
- B.P. is exploring for uranium in Western Australia (The Officer Basin) and South Australia (Poontana)
- B.P. is involved in planning a uranium conversion plant in South Australia.
- Uranium mining is the first link in the nuclear fuel cycle which leads to nuclear weapons.

BOYCOTT B.P.

B.P.'s RADIOACTIVE BUSINESS

British Petroleum (B.P.) one of the seven multi-national oil giants, is becoming more and more involved in the uranium industry. B.P.'s major involvement is its 49% share in the Roxby Downs Uranium Mine Project in South Australia. Roxby Downs is more than five times bigger than Jabiluka, Australia's biggest uranium mine at the moment.

The South Australian Liberal Government has given the go-ahead for this huge uranium mining project.

STOP THE QUIET DECEIVER

But the final decision won't be made until 1987.

This allows time for people to demonstrate that their future is more important than BP's profits.

BP is vulnerable. They are engaged in an ongoing public relations campaign promoting themselves as the "QUIET ACHIEVER". They are anxious to create a positive public image.

They never mention their nuclear "exploitations". The facts are:

- That uranium mining is dangerous to workers' health.
- That mining destroys the environment.
- That the waste disposal problem for the so-called "peaceful" use of nuclear energy isn't solved.
- That uranium mining is the first step in producing nuclear weapons.



WHAT DO DO

Boycotting B.P. is a simple, effective way of showing your opposition to uranium mining.

- Don't buy B.P. petrol and other B.P. products
- Write letters to B.P. demanding that they pull out of Roxby Downs uranium mine and their other involvements in the nuclear industry

Write to: B.P. House
Flinders Street
Adelaide, S.A.

- Choose healthy transport. Ride your bike. Don't rely on petrol.

 * Uranium mining in Australia is going *
 * ahead. Despite - *
 * -Widespread community opposition *
 * (51% of all Australians oppose *
 * uranium mining) *
 * - Destruction of Aboriginal lands. *
 * - The obvious connection with *
 * nuclear weapons. *
 * - The depressed uranium markets. *

LETTERS • LETTERS • LETTERS

DSP PRATT-LES

Dear Editors,

I wish to complain! I am an endorsed Deadly Serious Party candidate in the current ANU Council Undergraduate Election. As an executive member of the D.S.P. (I won the position of TEA LADY against fierce competition). I find it excruciating that my biographical notes and photograph were not deemed fit to print by the people that blight the upper echelons of the University's bureaucracy. What does it matter that the photographs I submitted were not mine but those of other D.S.P. members? I have neither the time nor the money to have a boring passport photo taken of me. I would have got even more votes if THEY had the common decency to print the head of our beloved Simon Carter beside my name.

When I was brusquely informed that my biographical notes were unsuitable, being a fair-minded individual, I submitted a brand-new, fully-factual set of notes. The Bureaucracy obviously considered my life to be too boring to be of consequence. I took this as a personal affront.

Here is a facsimile of the brief factual biographical summary, Mk II which I submitted:

1. Born in a foreign country
2. Worked in Casino for a year, whipping cows
3. Became 2nd yr science student after 1 year's preparation in 1982
4. Live in a Hall of Residence
5. Came last in the recent Union Board bi-election.
6. Not on any committee or in any club
7. Can wiggle my ears.

I think this set of facts serves to identify me as well as any other candidate's does. Thus, the powers-that-be, have

committed an unforgivable felony, far from being impartial, they have sought to pervert the course of democracy. If a petty invasion of the Malvinas can cause a Lord to resign in England, it follows that a gross act of unimpartiality is cause enough for the bosses of the ANU to retire. (They're all old enough (and far too tall) (ref. my policy statement)).

Yours in All Seriousness
Stephen Pratt

P.S. Here is what the bureaucracy wouldn't print.

- * The members are:
1. Simon Carter, National Sec. of Aut Cryonics Society
 2. Merlin Crossley, Priesident of Victorian D.S.P. (contested Flinders by-election)

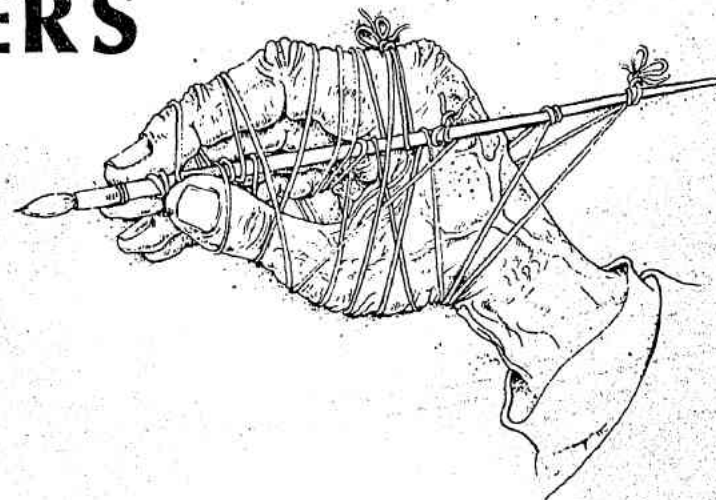
Dear Editors,

As D.S.P. tea lady, it is my duty to inform the public that, since it is Deadly Serious Party policy not to make mistakes, it has created a marvellous new word.

The word, which adorns some D.S.P. canvassing material, is "ATERATIVE". Don't be confused, reader, and think that this is a miss-spelt 'Alternative'. This is an all-new word. At this moment, the best minds of the Party machin are formulating a meaning for it. When they arrive at their amazing conclusion we will not be dilatory to inform YOU of its official D.S.P. meaning.

Thankyou, eds, for kindly allowing the D.S.P. to inform the populace of our daring etymological exploits.

Yours seriously,
S. Pratt



PEN PALS

This letter was received written in Spanish. Anybody wishing to correspond should write to the address below:

Pasto, Colombia,
February 28th 1983.

Hello Mr (Mrs, Miss),

I am sure you are a very important person in the Institution and I will not take much of your time.

Colombia has the ECETEX (Colombia Institute for Educational Credit and Technical Studies Abroad) and that was the only place where I found the address of the Australian National University, it has given me the chance to address myself to somebody on that beautiful Australian city and to be able to make contact with you, which I like doing, and also with any other persons who wish to exchange correspondence with me.

In view of the distance between our two Nations, I would like to avail myself of this occasion to request of you to give me your name and address to persons interested in maintaining correspondence, either students of Spanish or friends of yours who could be interested in history, or collecting coins, stamps postcards, etc. I am enclosing a postcard and one coin of my country

Colombia, as a memento and hoping that either you or some of your friends will reply to this letter as soon as possible. Thank you.

My name is Javier Enriquez Bravo and I live in Pasto (390 inhabitants), Department of Narino. Pasto is in the south of Colombia in South America, about 1.30 hours from the Ecuador border. I am starting to learn English and I hope to visit, one day, your beautiful country.

I know a few cities and other facts on Australia through encyclopaedias and atlases. In Colombia we do not have an Embassy or Consulate representing your country. Two months ago I wrote to the Australian Embassy in Venezuela, a neighbouring country, requesting magazines or tourist pamphlets about Australia and so far I have not got a reply. Only Venezuela and Argentina have Australian Embassies in South America.

Please reply and until then I wish you and your family and friends all the best.

Yours sincerely,
Favier Enriquez Bravo
Apartado Aereo 1668
Pasto, Narino, Colombia
South America.

P.S. Please give me the name of a newspaper in Melbourne and Adelaide.

CENTRAL AMERICA REVISITED

The Editors,

As indicated in a recent letter to Woroni (8 August), K.G. Odgers would like to see a "balanced viewpoint" put forward in discussions of the situation in Central America.

I found it somewhat remarkable that Odgers felt moved to mention the so-called "gross injustices" in Cuba and Nicaragua (where health care and education are free, and distribution of food and accommodation is based on need, not ability to pay), and yet nothing was said about Guatemala or Honduras (where government sponsored brutality, illiteracy, poverty, and vast inequalities of wealth abound).

I was particularly amazed at Odger's claim that the "elector had a real choice" (if only between "the moderates and hardliners") in the Salvadoran elections last year.

Did Odgers know that six members of the Revolutionary Democratic Front (a broad alliance of progressive forces even then recognised by France and Mexico as a representative political force,) were kidnapped in broad daylight in November 1980 and later murdered by government forces? The fact is that the activities of death squads such as ORDEN, the army, and the National Guard meant that campaigning openly in the elections was certain suicide for politicians who voiced their concerns for reform in El Salvador. Roberto Cuellar, then Executive Director of the Legal Aid Office of the Archdiocese of San Salvador, put it this way: "Any voice that opposes the government has been silenced by assassin-

ation, not imprisonment, but political assassination. In the current political climate where the right to organise has been suppressed by government decree, the call for elections is a myth." So much for choice.

Odgers says that 60 percent of the Salvadoran people took part in the elections. Why did these people participate? Because they were required to have their identity cards stamped to show that they had voted. Only this stamp guaranteed proof of their 'good will' toward the regime. Rather than having a "go at democracy" people were scared for their lives. They voted because they could not "protect themselves".

Even the vote itself, however, left a number of questions to be answered. After the "election", for example, the Jesuit university of San Salvador noted that although there were said to be 1.3 million people eligible to vote on March 28, 1.5 million people were said to have voted!

With the military in firm control of the country, the opposition effectively excluded from the process, and soldiers at every polling station closely watching how people voted, we can hardly say that the elections in El Salvador were "democratic", much less an expression of the "popular will".

Odgers also makes a flippant remark about the "idiocy of those governments who have borrowed beyond their means" as a characterisation of Latin American countries. This completely ignores the abundance of literature and analysis which documents how Western corporations have in fact built their wealth

on the backs of Latin American peasants and workers. Note here that I said that it is the corporations which are wealthy, for the much vaunted "wealth of the Western countries is far from evenly distributed. In the US, for example, the "oldest and greatest democracy of the modern world", we find 10 million people out of work, health costs which have skyrocketed in recent years, the institutionalisation of food stamps for those people 'unlucky' enough not to be part of the corporate scene, and, not surprisingly, a population so cynical about American 'democratic' structures

that barely half vote in each election. (Recent opinion polls have consistently shown that two thirds of the people in this 'great democracy' oppose the sending of troops or even military aid to Central America. Reagan and his cronies, of course, ignore this.)

Contrary to Odgers' letter, which comments that the US stance on the Malvinas conflict "demonstrated the willingness of the US not to support a South American junta", my argument was that precisely because of this particular event the US is under even greater pressure to show their commitment to their fascist friends in the region. The 'covert' CIA assistance to Ex-Somoza National Guardsmen who are currently attacking the Sandinistas in Nicaragua, increases in US military aid to El Salvador, and the military 'exercises' in Honduras involving 5,600 American troops, provides concrete proof that this is indeed what is happening.

The specific articles (19 July) referred to in Odgers' letter provided factual information on the military role of the

United States in El Salvador, and a discussion of the economic and social reasons why the US is stepping up its activity in the Latin American region. The point of these articles was to indicate the nature of the American presence in the region. Odgers, however, apparently failed to grasp this, for the letter omits to discuss or critically assess the US intervention occurring at the present moment. Rather than doing this, Odgers' letter posits a relativistic view of knowledge where 'objectivity' resides in presentation and not in content. In reality, however, economic oppression and political repression are not 'balanced phenomena. And furthermore, to argue for a "balanced viewpoint" on questions relating to foreign aggression in Latin America is sheer intellectual dilettantism.

The US State Department certainly could not have made a better attempt than Odgers at deflecting attention away from the main issue — the provocative attitude and actions of the United States Government as it blatantly interferes in the affairs of other nations and tries to prevent people in these countries from deciding for themselves what kind of economic and political system they wish to have.

If, as Odgers states, "everybody, even President Reagan, recognises the gross injustices perpetrated by the government of El Salvador", then even the most "tolerant" of readers should acknowledge that US military and economic support for this regime must be soundly condemned.

Rob White. PAGE 4

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Dear Editors,

It was with a sense of bewilderment and just a touch of sadness that I read the list of nominations for the forthcoming Union Board of Elections and could not find the names of the Union Bouncers.

Considering the numerous talents these boys possess I think that the present Board should break with tradition and accept their late nominations. It is my feeling that an unpleasant incident involving one punk's head should not stand in the way of proper management based on intimidation, violence and total irrationality. The present Board is not only exploiting them but cramping their style by not giving them proper positions and doors with their names on.



The Editors,

May I please register my great distress at the notion of undergraduates rushing around with water pistols playing assassination games.

I wonder where war starts. Does it begin with teaching children that playing with guns is fun? In what ways can we begin to move towards a peaceful and peace-loving society?

One thing about living in Australia that I have long appreciated is the absence of a "gun culture".

I dare say that the students who thought up the idea of MURDER felt that it was all a great giggle.

People of my age and generation, brought up in the 1930's, experiencing World War II, watching - with horror - a world in which political assassination has been taken for granted, are not about to giggle at that sort of gun-related childishness.

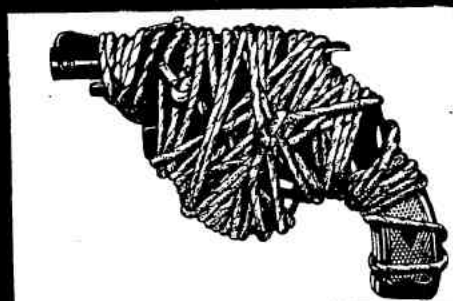
Yours sincerely,

Hector Kinloch
Dean of Students

To all you bona fide readers of the tackiest column in 'Woroni'. Your oracle has been shot down in flames by none other than the common cold and is now forcibly strapped to his bed. Seriously though, I have been very ill and am unable to do my column this issue.

Many apologies

Marcus Kelson.



Dear Editors,

While walking around the university yesterday I noticed that the Deadly Serious Party (or should that be the Readily Delirious Party or Dreadfully Spurious Party?) had been redecorating the campus with posters for the ANU Council election. Apart from feeling sick and disgusted that these puerile twits (or should that be shits?) were so senselessly denigrating the role that students should play on various committees, I was amazed at their gross illiteracy as instances by the misspelling of "alternative" on some of the posters. I am amazed that idiots like that ever managed to make it to university.

Yours etc.,

Andrew Moyle

Whatever happened to moths of the month 4 - 6?



There are now five thousand US troops in Honduras, dozens of US 'advisers' in El Salvador directing battles against popular forces, and several US warships off the coast of Nicaragua including one aircraft carrier and the huge battleship USS New Jersey.

The US presence in the region is designed to roll back popular revolutions made, or at least underway, in the Central American region.

The official excuse given by the Reagan administration for the war footing sounds like a rehash of his predecessors' excuses for attempting to bomb Vietnam "back to the stone age" in the late sixties and early seventies.

We are told that there are Marxist regimes in Cuba and Nicaragua which persecute minorities, censor newspapers and send arms to *guerillas* in neighbouring El Salvador to bring down the 'rightful' government. These regimes are 'totalitarian'. They wish to export their way of life through 'violent means'.

Anyone who went through the Vietnam experience has since learned to ignore these statements. That war taught millions how to evaluate the statements of American Presidents for what they were — a feeble cover for a war against small underdeveloped countries whose people wanted, and needed, a revolutionary change.

So, it comes as a disappointment to read in 'Woroni's' latest issue an 'anarchist' version of recent Central American history singling out the Nicaraguan and Cuban revolutions for criticism as a 'new brand of enslavement' whose every act is to 'militarize the minds of the people'; to 'indoctrinate them'; and to foster a 'repressive work ethic, a stringently authoritarian and conformist outlook and a distaste for idiosyncracies in dress and behaviour'.

Subtitled an 'alternative look at socialism in Latin America', the content isn't too far from the speeches and scribbles of the cold war warriors. The effect, at least, is the same. The governments of Nicaragua and Cuba, both in need of support in the face of the US war drive, stand slandered in the eyes of 'Woroni' readers.

Get the Facts Straight

And the method isn't too different either. The Big-Lie Technique has often been used when facts are short or not expedient.

Take for example the passage dedicated to those 'two influential groups who had struggled valiantly against Batista's regime and had anarchist leanings' — The Revolutionary Student Directorate and the Second Escambray Front.

During the revolution in Cuba the most significant forces — the July 26th movement — were led by Fidel Castro and Che Guevara starting in the Sierras at the eastern tip of the island.

There were other smaller operations involving anarchists. In the mountain regions of El Escambray there were two guerrilla forces — one the Revolutionary Student Directorate, another called the Second Front of Escambray. The latter in fact split from the former and had quite a different evolution.

By the time Castro's forces were victorious, the Revolutionary Student Directorate was occupying a section of Santiago de Cuba. Castro asked them to join the

In defence of Cuba and Nicaragua

July 26 Movement, and they did.

The Second Front of Escambray however had made up their minds to *oppose* the revolution. Led by Eloy Gutierrez Menoyo, the Second Front of Escambray engaged in banditry.

Where Castro's guerrilla forces paid for food they bought from peasants, the 'anarchists' of the Second Front simply stole the peasant's food earning the name 'comevacas' or coweaters.

The 'anarchists' played on peasant misgivings about socialism by telling them that the government was going to nationalize their land. Castro in fact did not nationalize the land but distributed it to poor, landless peasants.

When the Castro government sent troops after these bandits for their crimes these 'anarchists' murdered several peasants as a lesson to others not to talk to government troops and give away their position.

So 'valiant' and 'revolutionary' were our 'anarchists' that the CIA decided on Escambray as an area to begin anti-Castro insurgency in 1961 (similar to what is now happening on the Honduran-Nicaraguan border).

Fidel Castro's answer was to organize a Farmers and Workers Militia in the Escambray which could count on more than ten thousand workers and farmers for support. By 1964, the Second Front was out of action — much to the relief of the local population.

Their leader reappeared only briefly. In 1965, Menoyo landed in Cuba with US help to establish an anti-Castro army. He was arrested three days later and imprisoned.

Big Brother's State Farms

Anarchists are outraged that their dedicated activity should be repaid with progress in agriculture that did not involve 'self-managing farms and agricultural collectives' run on correct anarchist principles. But, far from turning peasants into employees of the National Institute for Agrarian Reform, Castro's first two Agrarian Reform Laws turned landless peasants into land owning farmers who are members of the National Association of Small Farmers.

100,000 peasant families gained land this way.

True, not all land was distributed. Cattle ranches were not broken up because livestock rearing isn't done on

small plots of land. Nor can they be turned into collectives so easily.

Cattle ranches are different from small farms producing tomatoes or other products. Had the ranch hands been turned into the co-operative owners of the land and the large herds their co-operative would have made millions overnight while small farmers struggled to make a living.

Ranches were indeed turned into State farms. The ranchers were, as before, workers. The difference with the revolution was that agricultural workers worked an 8 hour day instead of 13 or 14, received higher wages and were covered by social security.

Co-operatives are now being encouraged in many other areas because they are more *efficient* — they are more productive. More and better equipment can be pooled and more resources applied.

Ownership of equipment is vested in the particular enterprise not 'the State'.

As to the claims of the anarchists about waste and inefficiency, the true reason for many failures in agriculture early on was not because of too many experts, but because of too few!

Managers of co-operatives were given the job because they were revolutionaries, though they had only 2nd or 3rd grade education. There were no veterinarians, agronomists, technicians, seed or irrigation experts, let alone economists.

In 1970 the 10 million tonne target for the sugar cane harvest, or 'Zafra', failed precisely because it was an attempt to leap over complex problems by heroic efforts. It did dislocate the economy and Fidel Castro accepted his share of the blame.

Instead of staging 'persecutions' the Castro government sought to raise the educational and technical level of the Cuban people.

Education is not used to 'militarise the mind of the people' but to train the now abundant veterinarians, economists, engineers and other experts which anarchists seem to despise.

Cuba now has so many doctors that it has a doctor/patient ratio second only to the United States and Canada in all the western hemisphere. Even then, it has enough volunteer doctors to go overseas to Africa, Asia and Central America to outnumber all doctors under programmes operated by the World Health Organisation.

Cuba now has the highest standard of living in all of Latin America. Poverty, illiteracy, unemployment and hunger were not eliminated by State fiat but by the efforts of Cuban workers and farmers working under a 'nationalized, planned economy'.

Dictatorship or Democracy?

Our anarchist raises the spectre of the 'Castro dictatorship', the 'new system of class domination', a country 'weighed down with bureaucracy and centralized government'. This system of 'arbitrary directives' is called Peoples' Power and it is, in fact, the most advanced form of mass participatory democracy and administration in existence.

Institutions of Peoples Power permeate almost every aspect of the life of the Cuban people.

They extend from the territorial divisions of the country (neighbourhoods, districts, municipalities and provinces up to and including the national assembly — the supreme legislative body in Cuba), to the judicial system, to every factory, school, militia unit, farmers associations, student and womens organisations.

The relations between the administrative bodies and the particular areas they administer is simple, participatory and reciprocal. The people concerned elect, from their own ranks, the delegate or delegates they regard as best able to represent their interests.

These delegates must report back to a mass meeting on a constant basis, smooth out problems of administration, and work with other administrative bodies which have pertinent areas of jurisdiction. These regular report back meetings are called accountability sessions.

At these sessions problems are aired and solutions worked out between the administrators, the delegates and the electors. If the electors are dissatisfied with either their delegate or the administration of a particular area they can have the persons responsible replaced.

A more concrete example from industry may be instructive.

Planning for the coming year's production targets originates, firstly, from discussions between managers and workers of a particular factory. They send a proposal to the relevant ministry detailing what quotas they expect to be able to achieve along with appropriate details of requirements, etc.

The ministry co-ordinates this information along with that received from other sectors and submits a comprehensive proposal back to each sector for approval from the workers.

If the workers regard the production quotas as too high or too low, or if some other aspect requires corrections, the appropriate adjustments are made.

Through such procedures the workers are thoroughly familiar with every aspect of the production details of the sector — i.e., the available resources and capacities of the sector, and the country, as well as details of the projected investments for up-grading production.

And the reason is because they have been part of the decision-making process every step of the way.

As for the integration of unions and 'the State' let's hear from a union leader:

"In a country like ours the workers consciousness is shaped, the revolutionary consciousness. Before the triumph of the Revolution we had to struggle against the capitalists. Asking, asking, without ever getting satisfaction of our demands. Now our dual function, as unionists and revolutionaries, is to defend the interests of the workers and also to defend the interests of the state, because we are part of the state, we are part of our country's economy." (Harnecker, 1979:23)

The author of last issue's article on Cuba complained "from the start this





Nicaragua Pop: 2.7m GNP per head \$720 AREA - sq. miles 57,100	Honduras Pop: 4m GNP per head \$580 AREA - sq. miles 43,270
El Salvador Pop: 4.5m GNP per head \$590 AREA - sq. miles 8,200	Guatemala Pop: 6.8m GNP per head \$1110 AREA - square miles 42,000
Costa Rica Pop: 2.2m GNP per head \$1730 AREA - sq. miles 19,650	Panama Pop: 1.7m GNP per head \$1730 AREA - sq. miles 31,900

from attacks by a 10,000 strong force of CIA-backed counter revolutionaries based in Honduras, and facing the very real possibility of a full-scale invasion by Honduran and US military forces.

International opinion is decisive in this equation for the US is eagerly searching for any pretext which will enable them to intervene militarily. Limiting international support for Nicaragua and seeking to disarm the solidarity movement through slander is essential for this intervention to be successful.

So what is the anarchist's 'great dilemma'? He can't make up his mind whether to criticize the Nicaraguan government for going too far or for not going far enough!

Suppression of 'Counter-revolutionaries'; 'prior censorship of the press'; 'a security policy that has deprived thousands of Miskito Indians of fundamental rights', all become part of the dilemma.

What does prior press censorship in Nicaragua consist of in the State of Emergency?

News media have the responsibility to make sure that what they print is accurate (i.e. they can't lie!). Media are also forbidden to publish or broadcast stories that might create financial or economic panic (because of the internal and external attempts at de-stabilization of an already fragile economy). *Certain* stories dealing with military matters must first be cleared with the Ministry of the Interior (because of the state of war).

Otherwise opposition radio stations and newspapers operate freely.

And what of the Miskito Indians? They number approximately 120,000, are located in the remote northern parts of Nicaragua along the border with Honduras, and because of their isolation were relatively untouched by the revolution - during Somoza's rule there were no roads leading into these areas.

Because of their location along the Honduran-Nicaraguan border they are squarely located in the area where the Nicaraguans are fighting back against the attacks from the Contras (Somoza's ex-National Guardsmen).

After the revolution, the Contras, with CIA support and playing on the fear of the unknown, went through the Miskito Indian settlements telling them that the Sandinistas were coming to kill them and take their land and belongings. Some were recruited to join the ranks of the counter-revolution aided by free-flowing CIA money. A few thousand were induced to move over the border into Honduras where they now live in appalling conditions. Many want to return and are prevented from doing so by Honduras.

Miskito Indians in Nicaragua were relocated in safe areas and are protected by Sandinista soldiers from the terrorist attacks of the Contras. They have better food and housing and, for the first time, are being educated in their own language.

The situation of the Miskito Indians was investigated by an international delegation of independent human rights

agencies, church organizations and representatives of the American Indian Movement. They approved the measures taken by the Sandinistas and the conditions under which the Miskito Indians live.

Finally, what of our anarchist's prognosis that Nicaragua may become another Cuba?

Reasoned opinion would suggest they could do worse. Nicaraguans certainly identify with the Cuban Revolution and its achievements. However, they are adamant that the Nicaraguan Revolution is of their own making, that it grew out of the particular history and struggles of the Nicaraguan people and that it will assume a form decided upon by Nicaraguans.

That is, if the US will allow them to exercise their right to self-determination.

The Need for Solidarity

Support for the liberation struggles in the Central American and Caribbean Region is at a crucial stage. The US is poised for a massive military intervention against Nicaragua and the Salvadoran revolution. Regionalization of the conflict would be the inevitable result and thus the Cuban and Grenadian Revolutions would be subject to direct attack.

Only a massive solidarity movement equal to, or approaching, the size of the movement against the Vietnam war will prevent the intervention from going ahead.

Defence of these revolutions is crucial not only for the peoples of Central America and the Caribbean but for the millions of people around the world who are oppressed by brutal military regimes and imperialist exploitation. Revolutions like that of Nicaragua and Cuba provide tremendous inspiration through their achievements and heroic struggles against the largest imperialist power in the world.

These revolutions deserve our support - not 'critical support' of the type published in 'Woroni' last issue - but real support. This real support is what the Canberra Committee in Solidarity with Central America and the Caribbean (CISCAC) is trying to build. We are one of ten committees across Australia and are affiliated to the World Front in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador, based in Mexico.

We need the support of everyone who is able and willing to work towards that goal.

John van der Velden
Canberra CISCAC Committee.

Our Committee meets fortnightly, on Tuesdays at 8pm in the Boardroom of the ANU Students' Union. We can be contacted by writing to PO Box 606, Dickson, ACT, 2602, or by phoning 492 755 or 478 813. Our next meeting is on September 6th

experiment in decentralisation was integrated into the state". This is true. But only because Cubans don't think democracy is some toy separate from the state. They sought, and won, the democratisation of the state they built after the revolutionary upheavals of the '60's. And Fidel Castro led this democratisation.

As to the scope of representation in Cuba one only has to look at the figures from the first national elections to the municipal assemblies of People's Power in 1976.

There are 169 municipalities in Cuba. Each assembly is comprised of delegates elected from mass meetings within each district in the municipality. A district has a population of less than 3000 people. A municipality has between 30 and 200 districts. Each district elects one delegate.

Over 90,000 nominations were put forward by the more than four million people who attended mass meetings in each district. By a majority vote of those present 29,169 candidates for the posts of district representatives were chosen.

On election day, October 10, 1976, five million Cubans or 95.2% of the registered voters elected the 10,725 delegates from the pool of 29,169 candidates.

The people have the right to automatically recall their delegate and replace them by majority vote at a mass meeting of the district.

Marta Harnecker's book *Cuba: Dictatorship or Democracy*, is the definitive study of how Peoples Power works. The writer last issue got the title wrong and seems oblivious to the fact that the 1974 Peoples Power experiment in Matanzas Province was extended throughout the entire country 2½ years later.

There are, of course, many other dimensions to democracy in Cuba which require discussion - such as the 170,000 mass meetings that were held throughout the country in 1975 in order to construct a constitution, or the fact that members of the Cuban Communist Party are elected by the people.

I certainly do not intend to suggest that Cuba is perfect or that Peoples Power is a magic wand that can solve all problems. As a small, under-developed country under constant harassment and threat of invasions from the largest imperialist power in the world, Cuba has numerous problems - starting with the criminal US economic blockade which has been in force for the past 25 years.

However, any person with even slightly blurred vision in 'the left eye' would acknowledge the great gains made by the Cuban workers and farmers. Only an anarchist blind in both eyes could call it 'a softly-ticking variety of fascism'.

Nicaragua - Another Cuba?

The writer of the article in the last issue of 'Woroni' also pointed out that since the 1979 revolution, and the subsequent nationalization of the largest capitalist holdings in Nicaragua, 'the new Sandinista government feels obliged to treat . . . (the remaining capitalists) . . .

with restraint, fearing decapitalization and a loss of skills and technology if these capitalists were to move on." Then is posed what he regards as 'a great dilemma'.

'Should working people accept this as an excuse for collaboration with employers and the State and giving social elites the opportunity to establish themselves?'

This is truly remarkable - even if, for the moment, we bracket consideration of political question of why, and under what conditions, workers and peasants might consider collaborating with *their own government* after the revolution.

There is no doubt that the revolutionary government of Nicaragua is in a difficult position. The bourgeoisie who opposed the brutal and corrupt Somoza dictatorship - thus giving a multi-class dimension to the revolution - are not uniformly enchanted with the idea of the revolution moving forward under the leadership of the workers and peasants.

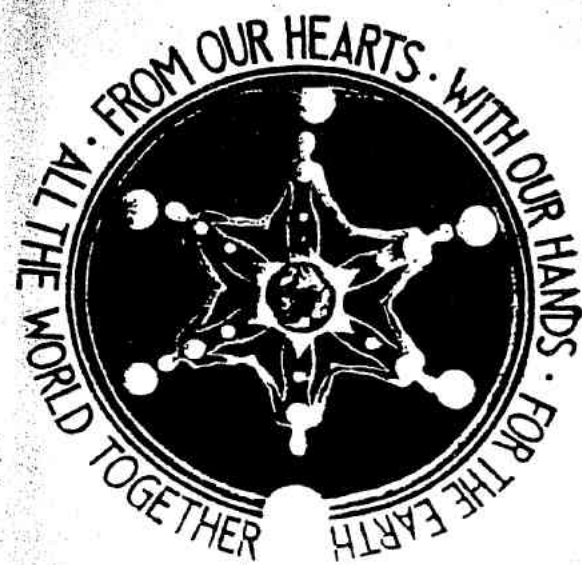
The economic devastation caused by the civil war, and present counter-revolution, required concessions to maintain the support of those sections of the bourgeoisie who are still willing to concede to the Sandinistas the preservation of the revolution, along with the implementation of basic measures of social re-distribution and economic recovery such as land reform and government regulation of scarce commodities and prices.

At the same time the Sandinista government is required to take action against those capitalists who are undermining the revolution by creating artificial shortages through hoarding, price gouging, de-capitalization, illegal export of basic foodstuffs to obtain higher prices - and who are actively fomenting counter-revolution (with the material assistance and political backing of the US) through the opposition parties and newspapers.

Compounding this difficult and delicate balance is the fact that Nicaragua is in a state of war - having to defend itself



Chicago Tribune



THE AQUARIUS

Festival



"There must be some kind of
Way out of here
Said the joker to the thief
There's too much confusion
Can't get no relief."
(Dylan)

Wait a Minute! There is a way out!
Lots of people seem to have found it, some of them are so enthused by what they've done they're having a celebration and everyone's invited. It's happening next month, (September 20th to 25th) in Nimbin, north-east N.S.W.

What follows is a rave about something far removed from the ANU campus and from the concerns usually addressed by the student newspaper. So here is something different, something to consider after realising that we're living in the shackles of an oppressive, capitalist state, facing the threat of planetary annihilation, surrounded by power trippers and the tricksters of patriarchy...

Some people realised all this a while ago, smiled at the whole inane game, turned their backs on it and decided to survive. Such was the theme of the 1973 Aquarius Festival, held at Nimbin to focus the creative energies of the counter-culture. Nimbin was (and remains today) the hub of various alternative lifestyles made manifest in the Rainbow region of Northern NSW. Reflected in these communal and individual ways of life are new directions being followed throughout the continent and the world. The 1983 Aquarius Festival is a celebration of life, of dreams come true over the years leading up to this tenth anniversary, and an exposition of lifestyles, art and alternate ideologies. It's a sharing of energies on all levels, of ideas and experiences, of projected future paths for the next decade.



(So if you've heard about the US bases and the way the ruling classes are ripping us off and you can't breathe the air and everyone seems too cynical to be real... have a listen to the

CELEBRATION MANIFESTO

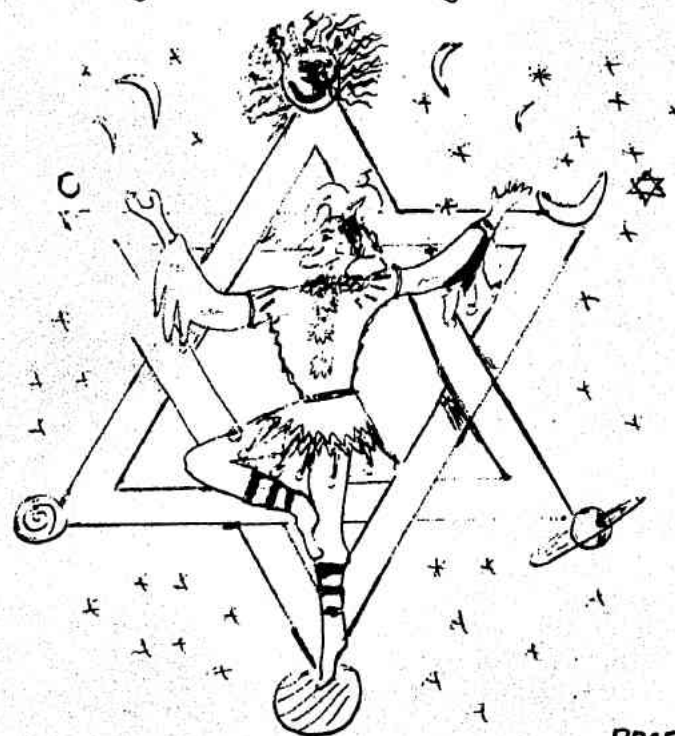
1. **Choosing our Future**
Responsibility begins with the individual as we collectively plan for a liveable and sustainable future.
2. **Land Rights**
We belong to the earth — we cannot own it. The spirit of our earth supports and sustains all life. Respecting this, we can work together, sisters and brothers, black and white.
3. **Nuke Disarmament, World Peace**
Increase awareness of the looming dangers and unite into action for peace, justice and life.
4. **Children**
Children are the future. We can open ourselves and listen to them.
5. **Community**
Learning to live together, furthering the tribal network for collectively agreed upon needs.
6. **Environment**
We must act together to protect it and learn to live in harmony with Nature.
7. **Culture**
"From our hearts, with our hands for the earth, for all the world together."

Perhaps this is a good opportunity for people "outside" the area to learn something which could change our lives, an opportunity to glimpse the possibilities of human transformation and holistic lifestyles and escape from the negative forces which threaten our freedoms, dreams and survival. We don't need to be victims, and the structures which bind us turn out to be a lot more loose than the system would have us believe. We create our own realities, our own lifestyles; (if someone else is calling your script it's time to win it back and re-write it your way).

Alternate scenes like Nimbin or Kuranda (NQ) have often been criticised as middle-class cop-outs. Certainly there are some who have survived well, who have played the capitalist game on the side and are bourgeois in the bank if not in their hearts. There are others, however, who have scraped together \$500 from the dole and odd jobs and bought shares in communities, and live by choice in (material) poverty in forest and regrowth. Still others have found a means to work in the city for six months, and then return to live in their (shared) houses while their co-residents travel to the urban hive to get some more money together. As Johnny Allen and Graeme Dunstan said of the 1973 Festival:

"The aim is for a total culture experience". The emphasis is on diversity.

Original Aquarius Poster
(from 1973 Festival) ↓
Logo for the White Company



NIMBIN
September
20-25
•1973-83•



A broad spectrum of special interest groups. Workshops discussing conservation/environmental action, alternate energy systems, agriculture and crafts, means of survival, ways of living together, nearly all NSW local councils are opposed to multiple occupancy of land by rural communes, despite provisions made by Dept of Planning & Environment guidelines in 1980. Ways of encouraging government recognition of the basic right to live together as we please will be discussed. Groups present are likely to include Women's Action for Global Peace, Down to Earth, Friends of the Earth, BUGAUP, and P.E.A.C.E. the latter (People's Environmental Action Coop Enterprise) is a new political party which has fielded candidates at the State and Federal (Senate) elections of recent years. Their policies are based around the planetary initiatives of disarmament and ecological security. Through these groups, and especially through Peace the alternative movement enters a dialogue with the parent culture. As Dudley Leggett of PEACE suggests "We have to communicate with mainstream society, no good living on the fringes of something that's trucking on down the hill, because we all get carried away with it."



What to expect

A lot of local music, theatre and art. This is NOT a big festival like Tanelorn or Narara; as with the 1973 Festival "It's not about numbers, but about energy created and exchanged."

\$30,000 has already been spent setting up the festival village. you can help the dream become a reality by registering. Tickets cost:
\$35 - at the gate
\$30 - (by mail) before Sept. 1st 1983.

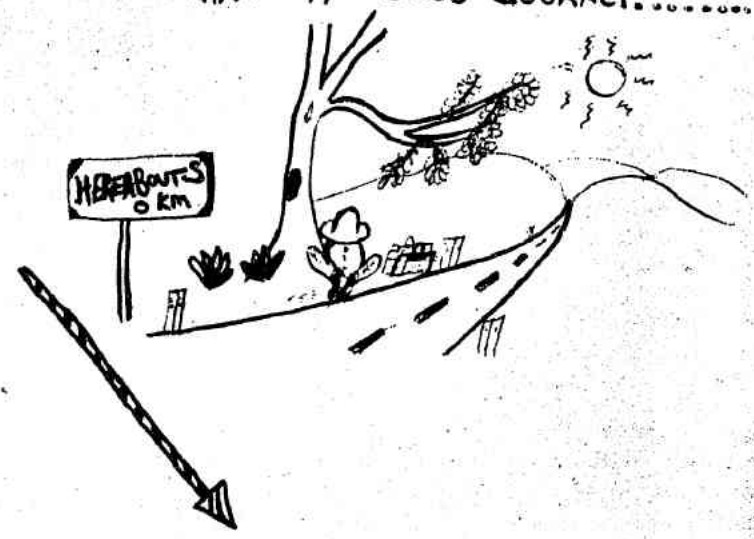
(Compare this to the last international rock megastar you saw; it's half a week's dole cheque.)

Anyone with input (information, time, skills or energy of any kind) can contact the organisers on:
(066) 891 408, 891 470.

Artists, dreamers and Mythmakers get in touch!

A lot of people will be meeting and meeting again, learning and rebounding from each other. Whether you have something to contribute or just want to listen to it whether you're an ex-hippie, inveterate urbanite, alternate seeker or comic, there's people to meet, things to learn and fun to be had. Dream On
Om Dreaming
See you there.

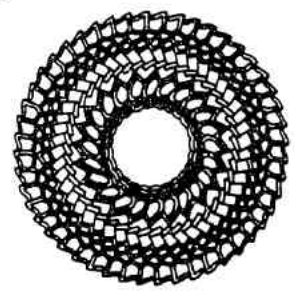
AS YOU LEAVE THE CITY FOR THE FORESTS AND FURTHER ON HAVE A GOOD JOURNEY.....



- Healthy Food
- Parking Area
- Holistic Ways (Massage, Meditation, Yoga, Spiritual Teachings and bookstalls)
- Free Bus to Town
- Markets
- Beautiful fresh water from a bora ring chosen by Bandjalang tribal elder Lyal Roberts.

The Festival is a celebration of giving, salvaging, recycling and maintenance, and money has been approached like any other energy obtained honestly, spent wisely and passed on in a positive direction.

(This rave a collective process through Nimbin Lifestyle Celebration organisers, Pegasus, Scott, the people at Maggies Farm, Woroni, and the rest of us that is.)

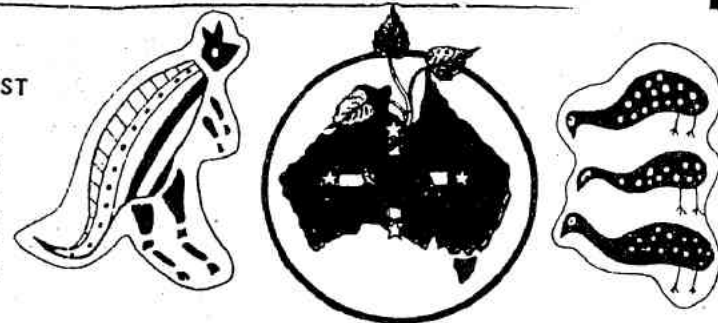


A COMMUNITY TAX - YOUR INVOLVEMENT IN THE COLLECTIVE TRUST

All profits from the Lifestyle Celebration will be distributed to local groups manifesting the statements of the Celebration Manifesto agreed upon in the May Celebration Creation Workshops. Please number your priority 1 to 7 in the boxes provided. Your vote will help determine the priorities of how any profits are distributed.



MANIFESTATION



IMPLEMENTING GROUP

CHOOSING OUR FUTURE: Responsibility begins with the individual as we collectively plan for a liveable and sustainable future. We wish to encourage an increasing consensus towards unifying and healing action strategies to inspire the deepest commitment from all.	Rural Resettlement Task Force - to be used to further the aims of the rural community movement. <input type="checkbox"/>
LAND RIGHTS: We belong to the earth - we cannot own it. The SPIRIT of our Earth supports and sustains all life. Respecting this, we can work together, brothers and sisters, black and white.	Bandjalong and Gidabal tribes - to be passed on to a local Aboriginal community group represented by Lorraine Mafi-Williams to further their initiatives. <input type="checkbox"/>
NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT - WORLD PEACE: We urgently need to learn how to resolve conflict without violence. We must increase awareness of the looming dangers and unite into action for peace, justice and life.	Women's Action for Global Peace - to be utilised in whatever peace initiatives they consider appropriate. <input type="checkbox"/>
CHILDREN: Children are the future. We all support them in making it their festival too, with kids and adults sharing and learning from each other. (We should open ourselves and listen to the children).	To be distributed by a committee representing - Nimbin Community School Tuntable School Nimbin Youth Group <input type="checkbox"/>
COMMUNITY: Learning to live together, furthering the tribal network for collectively agreed upon needs.	Nimbin Neighbourhood Centre - to be used to fund and assist local community groups and projects. <input type="checkbox"/>
ENVIRONMENT: The Earth is sacred, we must act together to protect it and learn to live in harmony with nature. Let the LAND tell its story.	To be distributed by a committee representing - Nightcap Action Group Treeworks Toxic Substances Group <input type="checkbox"/>
CULTURE: "From our heart; with our hands for the earth, all the world together" ... sustaining and preserving our tribal relationship with the land and each other.	The Nimbin Community Arts Collective - a group to be formed under the auspices of the Neighbourhood Centre to further the cultural needs of Nimbin. <input type="checkbox"/>



SUBSCRIBE!

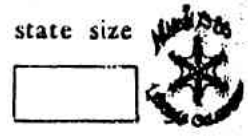
NIMBIN 73/83
LIFESTYLE CELEBRATION
PARTICIPATION FUNDING



BUY YOUR TICKET NOW AND HELP THE CELEBRATION BECOME A REALITY
!!! = SUBSCRIBE = !!!

\$ 30. UNTIL SEPTEMBER 1st.
\$ 35. AFTER SEPTEMBER 1st.
AND AT THE GATE.

T / SHIRTS \$ 7. @ state size



NAME _____
ADDRESS _____
Postcode _____ State. _____

DO YOU WISH TO HOLD A WORKSHOP? OR SHARE YOUR SKILLS
State here. _____

I ENCLOSE \$30. BOOKING FEE
I ENCLOSE \$ 7. FOR T / SHIRT

* Make Cheques Payable to :

Nimbin Lifestyle Celebration
P.O. Box Nimbin 2480 N.S.W.
Phone (066 - 891408)

WORONI INTERVIEWS.

MAX NEMADZIVHANANI

Australian representative of the PAC
Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania
(South Africa)

Woroni: First, could you tell us a bit about yourself, your background?

Max: I was born in Azania (South Africa) in a small country town called Sibasa. Sibasa is well known for its long history of resistance like all areas hard hit by South Africa's policy of establishing labour ghettos (homelands).

In the rural areas, most children grow up without fathers. The men all have to leave to get work in the mines and are not allowed to take families with them. Because there is such hopeless, grinding poverty, many women also have to leave and a lot of children have no parents.

My father was a schoolteacher, and father to many children besides his own. These experiences made me decide to become actively involved in the struggles of my people.

W: How were you involved in the resistance movement?

M: I went to Venda-Onderwys Teachers College, where I was involved in the student movement branch of black consciousness.

In September 1977 we organised a student demonstration against Bantu education. That was in Sibasa stadium. The police came in ground units and in helicopters and began shooting at us. Many students were killed and wounded and this began a general uprising in Northern Transvaal. This uprising was brutally suppressed and police began searching for the student leaders, imprisoning and torturing them, or just shooting them on sight.

Only four of us escaped, myself and three others — Through underground networks we were smuggled into Botswana. I cannot return to my home now, for I will be imprisoned. I am a political refugee.

My parents are still being harassed by the police because I write to them.

W: Max, you now represent the Pan Africanist Congress in Australia. What is the status of PAC here?

M: Before colonisation, all Africans moved freely throughout Africa. Colonial borders have been artificially imposed, and 20th century border wars in Africa have no relation to traditional boundaries between groups of Africans.

The PAC recognises the people of Africa and represents their aspirations: rather than recognising colonial 'states' The problem I find in being PAC representative here is that the Australian Government recognises only states, not representatives of the people.

So as far as the Australian Government is concerned, only the South African Embassy is listened to. The PAC are considered mere "terrorists".



Bantustan policy means Africans are restricted to 13 percent of the land. Eighty-five percent of the land in Azania (South Africa) is owned by whites, who constitute only one-quarter of the total population.

W: But what can the PAC achieve?

M: In the 1960s it became obvious that the South African government would not accede to peaceful requests for black majority rule. The PAC became actively involved in the people's struggle for democracy. Armed struggle is necessary because Africans have no other voice that the South African government will listen to.

The PAC has been involved in mass uprisings of blacks in South Africa. In the Sharpeville campaign against repressive Pass Laws in the 1960s, 83 unarmed blacks were shot dead by police.

The Soweto uprisings of 1976 were also suppressed by force. Eleven thousand PAC leaders were arrested and 19 were sentenced to a total of 162 years imprisonment.

The South African government resorts to violence against people. The only way to negate government violence is to defend ourselves.

The PAC and the ANC (African National Council) work together against the white government in Azania (South Africa).

The PAC fights for an Africanist Socialist Democracy. This means that the interests of indigenous peoples takes precedence over the colonials' — the interests of workers dominate those of employers' and — the interests of the majority rule those of the minority. Black control of land is not negotiable under these principles.

The Pan Africanist Congress does not aim to kick all whites out of Africa. We fight for an Africanist Socialist Democracy. We describe as 'Africanist' all those whose main interest is Africa and who live without special privileges in Africa. We would want whites to continue to live in Africa, but with no special status.



W: Recently, media attention has been focussed on black unions and the easing of government restrictions on union activity. What is the significance of black unions in the struggle in S.A.?

M: For blacks, workplace activism is illegal in South Africa. Independent black unions are becoming more militant. In 1981 there were 238 strikes by black workers. The PAC plays an active role in unions.

Philip Dlameni was the secretary of the Black Municipal Workers Union in Soweto. In 1980 it organised a strike of 10,000 black workers which lasted six months before it was crushed. Dlameni was arrested and is still in prison for his union activity.

Joe Thloloe is the founder of the Black Journalists Union which was banned by the government in 1977 when it attempted to publicise events in Soweto in the 1976 uprisings.

These PAC members are now on trial in South Africa under the Internal Security (anti-terrorism) Act.



Most white unions do not support our struggle because they feel threatened by black workers. There have always been a few white progressives who identify with our cause but they are not interested in complete overthrow of all repressive structures so they tend to deflect black energy from its struggle. Any whites who identify with the black liberation movement completely, are quickly eliminated by the state.

W: What can we, as white Australians, do to help the cause?

M: Blacks must liberate ourselves. No white can do that for us. But the role of the international community is important, as the history of the liberation of Zimbabwe shows.

One of the most effective ways Australians can support our struggle is by refusing to buy goods produced in South Africa. Some people think that this would disrupt the economy and increase the hardships of blacks — but the truth is that Africans welcome any hardship stemming from economic sanctions — because of the long term gains.

PAGE 10



The Pan Africanist Congress of Azania was established on April 6 1959. Eleven months after it was established, the PAC launched the positive action campaign against the notorious and obnoxious pass laws. That campaign, launched on March 21, 1960, decisively changed the course of history of the struggle of our people and ushered in a new and revolutionary path and era of struggle. We moved from protest to direct challenge.

It is true that the March 21, 1960 campaign was a non-violent one — but it was not a protest, but a mass-based challenge. The response to the PAC call was so overwhelming and nation-wide that the racist regime — for the first time since the last war of resistance of 1906 (known as the Bambata Rebellion) — felt seriously threatened.

Like all reactionaries threatened by mass and popular action, the South African racists, too, reacted with brute force against unarmed men, women and children. At Sharpeville, 69 Azanians were killed in cold blood and 189 wounded, many seriously. Also in response to the challenge posed by the mass-oriented March 21, 1960 campaign, the racist regime declared a state of emergency, arrested and incarcerated PAC leaders and members and hurriedly passed a legislation to ban the liberation movements. It also led, for the first time, to the withdrawal of foreign capital from the country.

Most significant of all is that the PAC led Positive Action Campaign ushered in the era of armed struggle because at Sharpeville not only died 69 of our compatriots, but also non-violence as a principle means of struggle in the South African context.

W: Max, what do you see as the major problem in South Africa today?

M: Land. Through colonial wars and invasions, Africans have been dispossessed of their land, industries, metallurgy, and we had the right to live our lives in peace. Under colonial government we lost our land, and our rights to trade, and to our economy.

Land reform is the key to the liberation of black people. Our struggle is for the restoration of control of land to its indigenous owners.

The problem in South Africa is not really a racial problem: it is colonialism disguised as apartheid! If discriminatory laws in South Africa were abolished tomorrow, 85 percent of the land would still be controlled by five million whites, while 25 million blacks have only 13 percent.

If the government which oppresses us were black, the struggle would be the same. The problem is racial only because the colonisers happen to be whites.

W.: What is the role of women in the PAC?

M: The role of women is not different from that of men — we are all comrades together! . . . Well, that's the principle. It doesn't always happen in practice, but we don't have sex-stereotyped work roles. There are still Africans who are sexist, but women have a voice. They speak of the minor contradiction and the major contradiction: that is, that sexism cannot be overcome while Africans are oppressed. Women want to be proud Azanians first!

In Azania, women live mostly in the rural areas (homelands), and may not visit their husbands in the cities. Under these conditions such things as trade union activism are predominately male. But in all the mass actions I have been involved in, women have been there, in the front lines, often still advancing when the men are fleeing! Women can carry guns just as effectively as men can.

African women don't just want bourgeois rights. They don't want the right to be exploited in the factories and mines in the same way men are. All such social conditions must totally change.

PAC

P.O. BOX 1715
CANNBERRA CITY 2601
AUSTRALIA

**NOW YOU HAVE TOUCHED
THE WOMEN YOU HAVE
STRUCK A ROCK YOU HAVE
DISLODGED A BOULDER,
YOU WILL BE CRUSHED.**



max

ALL-AFRICAN STUDENTS UNION IN AUSTRALIA

AASUS

21st ANNUAL NATIONAL
CONVENTION — MELBOURNE
21-27 August 1983

Theme: 'AFRICA TODAY'

'Africa Today' is the theme for this year's AASUA National Convention, scheduled to take place in Melbourne 21st to 27th August 1983. As in the past years we are greatly honoured to host this important activity of the All African Students Union in Australia for the sixth time in two decades. I therefore have the pleasure to announce this important annual activity of the Union and also to kindly extend invitations to you all to attend. The 21st National Convention will feature conferences, seminars, cultural events, sports study tours and other recreational activities with African touch.



SOWETO UPRISING

June 16 is commemorated by the masses of our people as the National Day of Freedom. On that day in 1976 began a campaign which led to a national uprising that shook the racist regime to its very foundation. The campaign represented a total rejection of the mental and physical oppression of our people. Specifically, the target was Bantu-education — the immediate issue being the compulsory introduction of the oppressors' "Afrikaans" language as a medium of instruction in secondary school. Under the guidance of Students' Representative Councils (SRC's) — a product of the Black Consciousness Movement — students' activities were co-ordinated on a national basis. In Soweto, the campaign was outstandingly well-coordinated by the Soweto SRC. For the first time since the Sharpsville Campaign of 1960, against the most hated pass laws (organised and led by the PAC), the Racist Regime found itself handling a crisis of unprecedented magnitude.

Like all reactionary governments of the world, the Racist Regime faced by a direct challenge, from progressive forces, beyond its own control, reacted brutally and unleashed reactionary violence on the people, killing plus or minus 1,000 people.

The Soweto Uprising was not a 'spontaneous affair' as some quarters would like to propagate. During Soweto were germinated seeds of revolution, sown during Sharpsville by the PAC and were concretised by the liberatory philosophy of Black Consciousness. The infamous Bethal 18 Secret Trial is a concrete evidence that Soweto was not a spontaneous affair. During this trial, which concluded on June 1979, the PAC and the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) of Azania were formally charged as being directly connected with the Soweto Uprisings.

For the first time in the history of our struggle children were, during Soweto, in the forefront of the struggle, spearheading an Uprising whose domains and parameters extended far beyond the confines of students and the geographic location of Soweto — a mass-based national uprising which involved all stratas of the Azanian population.

THE FINAL CLENCHING

She rose soundlessly
with controlled emotions arms
thrust out in the final clenching
of a martyred daughter.
Her flowing robes whispered
secrets to a lost mystery
buried and inaccessible
in the past and darkness
of primeval forests.
She began a sad, sad song
that had its origins the day Africa
this virgin land raped repeatedly
began to moan and bleed.

" . . . and before I'll be a slave
I'll be buried in my grave . . . "

She sang of our heroes
sons and daughters of the soil
whose blood drenched the earth
from coast to coast in defence
of what's rightfully ours.
And although dead they live
unforgotten beacons in our hearts.
She sang of a time
we would usher in after our shaming
and we are strengthened and spurred
to build a nation
eternally proud of its own.

Mandlenkosi Langa

LEGAL REFERRAL SERVICE

- teas
- tenants' advice
- general legal queries



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MON-FRI 12-5

GROUND FLOOR, UNION BUILDING



workshop review

THE LEGAL WORKSHOP REVIEW — PRACTICAL LEGAL EDUCATION AT ANU

Recently the Committee to Review the Legal Workshop in the Faculty of Law presented its report to the Law Faculty and Legal Workshop for discussion. The Workshop program has existed since 1971 and acts as a source of practical training for law graduates rather than doing articles. That is, the course attempts to teach graduates the skills required for the practising of law, such as how to convey property, how to negotiate, interview and act as an advocate in court, how to run a solicitor's office (i.e. administrative skills), how to do legal drafting, and similar skills not covered in the undergraduate course.

The fact that the Workshop has gone for ten years, combined with a significant number of criticisms about the course over the last few years prompted the Board of the Faculties to establish a committee to review it. After meeting through 1982 and early 1983 the Committee released its Report in July. The Committee has recommended that a number of quite fundamental changes be made to the course. The following is a brief summary of the very recommendations:

- that ANU continue to offer a Legal Workshop course, and that it be situated in its current location at the Law School.
- that the course should "identify the main roles and functions of a practitioner" and "develop in students the skills required for those roles and functions".
- that the course be based on practice for an ACT solicitor.
- that the course cease to be taught in two six month groups and instead be taught in one thirty (30) week course catering for up to 60 full-time students.
- that the local profession have greater input in the content of the course.
- that the Workshop be provided with an adequate practice library, and that course materials be continually updated,

— that the basic method of instruction be the "current matters" method (Note: under a "current matters" program students "are introduced as soon as possible to performing many of their legal tasks . . . as if they had received instructions to act for a client and had then proceeded to carry out instructions." By this method, skills are meant to emerge from a careful selection of tasks rather than the current situation where particular skills are taught with tasks playing a subsidiary role.)

There were also recommendations relating to staffing (where it was felt that the use of outside consultants should be reduced), funding (additional funds be sought from outside sources), the continuation of a job placement scheme, and that the introduction of a Continuing Legal Education program be investigated.

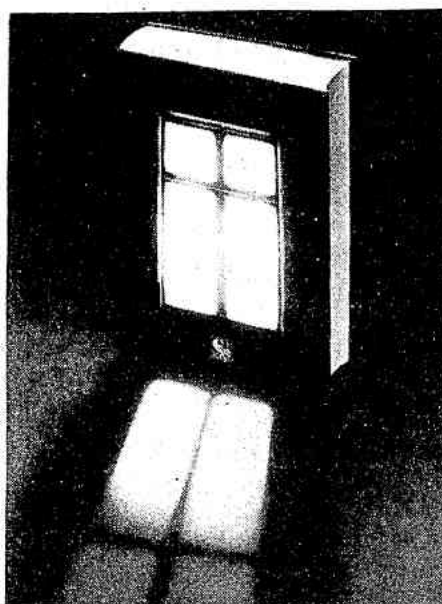
So far, people have expressed concern on a number of points including the Report's failure to indicate the underpinning assumptions of its recommendations; the introduction of the current matters method of instruction; the extended duration of the course from six to seven months; the emphasis on private (as opposed to public) practice; and the use of practice in the ACT as the basis for the course.

What has this to do with you? The nature of the Workshop course is important to the community as a whole as it helps shape the kind of lawyers which will enter the profession. The proposed emphasis on practice as a private solicitor combined with the increased input of the local profession could lead to an entrenchment of the conservative values and mystifying practices of the current profession. Unless law graduates are exposed to new ideas and demystifying methods of legal practice it is difficult to see how the profession will change so as to become more accessible, and accountable, to the community it purports to serve. Those people who are interested in seeing the Report and making some comments can do so through the ANU Law Society.

Philip Kellow



case notes



Just a reminder that if students have any legal problems or queries they should feel free to approach the people who staff the Student Legal Referral Service. Situated on the ground floor of the Union (just near the stairs), the office is usually open from 12 noon to 5pm Monday-Friday.

A spate of meetings of various committees at the law school is currently occurring. Matters discussed have included the proposed introduction of an Advanced Legal Research unit and of a Clinical Legal Education unit, each initiated by students. Also of interest is the establishment of an equal staff/student committee which will draft questions for an ORAM survey of the law school in 1984.

On the matter of the proposed Advanced Legal Research unit, its treatment at the hands of the Faculty's Curriculum Committee has not been a happy one. Despite the fact that one of the unit's original aims was to provide an avenue for all students to learn research and writing skills and to give non-honours students a chance to undertake a research project, the Curriculum Committee has made it almost inseparable from Honours, thus severely restricting the unit's potential by tying it closely to the rules governing Honours. Such are the dangers of sending good ideas into the depths of bureaucracy, especially where that bureaucracy does not have equal staff/student representation.

At a recent Special General Meeting of the Law Society a motion to censure the Society's President was overwhelmingly defeated. In fact, it was lost without a vote being cast in its favour, with neither the mover nor seconder of the motion supporting it.

deregulation referendum

DEREGULATION OF COMPULSORY UNITS REFERENDUM

— RESULTS —

A total of 250 students participated in the referendum recently conducted by the ANU Law Society in conjunction with the Law School Action Group. The results have been collated and will be used as the basis for a submission to the Law Faculty arguing for a reduction in the number of compulsory units required for an ANU law degree.

Some interesting results were:

— 62.4% of students want Commercial Law made optional; 70% want Commonwealth Constitutional Law optional; 50% want Practice and Procedure optional; 59.6% want Succession and Legal Interpretation optional; and 56.4% wish Trusts to be optional.

— on the side for compulsory units remaining compulsory, Contracts polled 78%, Criminal Law and Procedure 71.2%, Torts 69%, and Legal Writing and Research obtained 66% of the result. Other units polled in the 50-69% region for remaining compulsory.

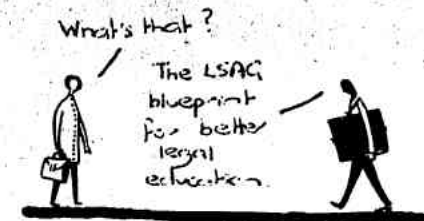
— two units, Land Registration and Moots II, polled less than 50% on either side. That is, less than 50% wish them to remain compulsory and less than 50% wish them optional — abstentions holding the balance.

— of the current optional units, some 13% of the voters felt that Jurisprudence ought to become compulsory if the need for more compulsory units should ever arise.

On the question about supplementary exams, the current Faculty policy of only offering one sup to final years was overwhelmingly rejected in favour of the option of having four supers during the course of a degree.

Obviously the results, representing the opinion of almost half the student currently enrolled at the Law School, show that students are not happy with the current degree format. Of course, for reform to be viable there will have to be some restructuring as well as the optionalization of certain units. Hopefully these results, combined with further student input into the drafting of a submission, will go a long way towards convincing Faculty that reforms are needed, and, further, indicate where those reforms are required.

Philip Kellow



lsag meets every monday at 1:00 in law 1

"THIS IS THE OPPRESSOR'S LANGUAGE"

Man-Made Language, Dale Spender, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1980.

You've probably come across feminists who refuse to be called "chairman" or even the occasional textbook which uses he/she instead of just 'he'.

You might have dismissed it as eccentric, or thought it over pedantic and picky — or even accepted it as a claim of the women's movement without really knowing why.

Dale Spender's *Man Made Language* is an excellent introduction to the structure and definition of language and the way it excludes or degrades women.

Language is not natural: there is no set of labels out there waiting for people to discover and use them. Language is a human invention — a constantly evolving set of patterns and concepts through which we make order and meaning of our world. Because this process occurs in a structure of male dominance, our concepts and categories are distorted. The essence of this distortion is that the male is the norm by which all other things are concealed or compared.

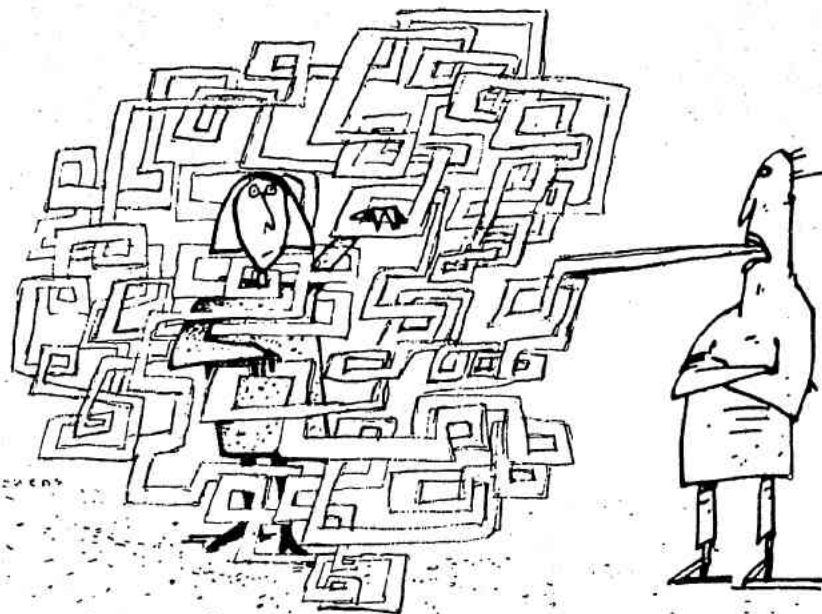
Sexism in Language: one of the easiest to identify biases in language is the comparison of words. Though Spender doesn't find this research very enlightening I found it a helpful starting point. For example:

- there are not only more words for males than for females, but there are more positive words for males.
- most words for women refer to sex rather than to any other characteristic: e.g. 220 words meaning "sexually promiscuous female": only 20 mean the same for men.
- pairs of words ostensibly referring to the same thing for male and female have acquired a degraded meaning for women e.g. bachelor-spinster; master-mistress and note the different undertones in the statements "He's a professional" "She's a professional" (p.19)

Language and Knowledge: If language is the basis of the structure and concepts in thought, then man-made language has extensive implications in universities. Spender discusses 'objectivity' and its use as a means of dismissing claims for the importance of women's experience, as merely personal. She shows how 'objectivity' is more like 'male subjectivity'. In sociology, for instance, categories used eliminate women from legitimate topics of investigation. Where 'power' means legal and political institutions, 'work' means paid work, and prostitution is defined as a form of deviance rather than of work: women are systematically being rendered invisible. (pp.68-71).

Does 'he' include 'she'? The grammatical rule that 'he' and 'man' may include the female disguises a fundamental ambiguity for women. In a statement like 'man ploughs his fields', men need not investigate the meaning. It obviously refers to males. For females, a problem arises. Does it refer to them or not? This ambiguity has a 'blanketing' effect on women; uncertainty is another means of silencing.

Adrienne Rich



Conversation isn't just talking. An audience is required. Spender's research shows that women are not only the listeners, but in fact do almost all the conversational "shitwork"; encouragement to continue, asking the right questions, smiles and nods. Women who are perceived as talking 'too much' probably talk as much as men. Spender concludes that this is perceived as 'too much' because the required role for women is silence.

Talk among women is treated negatively by men. While men 'confer', 'discuss', 'decide', women "chatter, natter, prattle, nay bitch, whine and gossip". There are no male equivalents for these descriptions of woman-talk.

The importance of communication between women is shown by the effect of consciousness-raising groups on the women's movement of the 60s, and raises questions about the isolation of women from each other in such demographic arrangements as the suburban home.

Spender shows examples of the ostensibly generic use of 'he/man' which is in fact exclusive to men. Eric Fromm, for example, uses 'man' ostensibly to refer to the human species, but produces sentences like "Man's vital interests are life, food, access to females, etc." (p.155). Implicitly, humans are a race of males.

Spender demonstrates the fundamental illogicality of a semantic structure where a statement like "man needs food" may be claimed for women as well as men; but a statement like "man gives birth after nine months of pregnancy and suckles his young" not only seems absurd, but never appears. 'he' really includes 'she', why not?

And now a fascinating little snippet from Spender's research. The idea that 'he' means 'she' was invented by Thomas Wilson in 1553 and first included in a grammar book by John Kirkby in 1746 (p.148). Before that, the use of 'they' as a singular pronoun for indeterminate sex was accepted usage. Indeed, this phenomenon persists despite centuries of being 'incorrect': a statement like "everyone has their rights" for example, is not unusual.

Research by Anne Bodine (1975) shows that this use of 'they' persists despite two centuries of attempts to eradicate it, and that women use it more often than men do. Is this the revelation of centuries of quiet subversion?

'He/man' language is a specifically man-made device (there were no female grammarians in print in the 17th century) and it reinforces the dominance of the male in thought and culture. The implications are obvious — humans are male unless proved otherwise — and wrong.

Women are silenced: Do such sexist implications as those above just need to be eliminated or altered? Spender argues convincingly that there is much more to it than that.

Language is a cultural form — and women are as much a part of culture as men are. Women are, and always have been, speakers, writers, poets and teachers; but it is men who have codified, written the authoritative histories, become the "great names". Women have no access to the 'power of naming' and thus have limited conceptual tools to describe their experiences.

Spender uses the example of 'motherhood': its implications are positive — joy creation, fulfillment of the female role. Yet for many women this is not their experience. There is no referencepoint to describe the variations of women's experience, and this leaves women feeling that there must be something wrong with themselves because they don't 'fit' the concept of joyful maternity. And who would advertise what would seem her own neurosis by trying to speak out? Women are left with silence as their only discourse. Spender documents instances where women cannot transmit their experiences even to their daughters — thus passing through generations these silences and feelings of inadequacy, while concepts of mothering remain essentially a "spectator's" point of view.

What about speech? It might seem odd to claim that language is man-made when women use it too — women talk more than men anyway, don't they? Well, no: Spender's research into personal communication is her most convincing indictment of male dominance in language.

Numerous studies indicate that men talk much, much more than women, that many women find it difficult to be heard at all in the presence of men (particularly husbands!) (p.42). Men interrupt women 98% more often than women interrupt men, and the sight of a group of males quietly listening to a woman speak is extremely rare, while the reverse is common.

That this is accepted as normal is borne out by the fact that a man will usually persist despite an interruption, a woman usually falls silent. A woman who persists despite interruption will be regarded as rude and ungracious.



What is to be done? A pretty gloomy picture so far I admit. And there is much, much more I don't have time for here. But the overall effect of Spender's *Man-Made Language* is not negative, rather, it is informative, entertaining and enlightening.

The situation is by no means hopeless. Feminist critiques and scholarship have already re-valued many concepts, such as 'housework' and given them greater explanatory force for women. Likewise, the demand to be named 'woman' rather than by a term with sexually degrading overtones (broad, chick, lady, the list is endless.....), gives men cause to stop and think about their assumptions.

Spender urges women to speak out from silence, to re-name and to encode their experiences, to stop supporting male conversation dominance, to speak woman-to-woman. As she points out, a king surrounded by sycophants is unlikely to realise if he is mistaken. By revealing the mechanisms and challenging assumptions, male dominance of language can be deconstructed.

In her final chapter Spender analyses women's writing and how it is marginalised. This, too, is an area of great leaps forward for women. Women can not only speak out, but write forward!

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Helen Campbell

 *
 * COUNTER-SEXISM GROUP *
 * MEETS FORTNIGHTLY *
 * WEDNESDAY 1pm *
 * S.A. Office *
 *
 * NEXT MEETING *
 * WEDNESDAY 14/9. *
 *

OPERA ON CAMPUS

Anyone interested in opera, or musical theatre generally, is invited to become part of the newly formed ANU Opera Workshop. It has been set up to give everyone — but especially young people an opportunity to be involved in the production and performance of operas.

The particular emphasis in the first season to be performed at the ANU Arts Centre in May and June next year is on chamber operas from the seventeenth and twentieth centuries. They will be Purcell's *Dido and Aeneas*, Williamson's *The Happy Prince*, and Monteverdi's *The Coronation of Poppea*.

There is a great diversity within the programme for the first season. Henry Purcell's *Dido and Aeneas* is generally agreed to be one of the finest and dramatically complete operas ever written. It was first performed in about 1690 and takes its story from Book Four of Virgil's *Aenid* which tells of Queen Dido's love for Aeneas, her betrayal, and her subsequent suicide.

Claudio Monteverdi's *The Coronation of Poppea* was first performed in 1642 and is based on part of the *Annales* of Tacitus. It tells of the Emperor Nero's seduction at the hands of the beautiful Poppea and the fulfilment of her ambition to become Empress.



The Happy Prince by Malcolm Williamson — an Australian composer born in 1931 — was first performed in 1965. It is an adaptation of a story by Oscar Wilde, and though written for children, is very challenging and enjoyable.

The guiding lights of the Workshop are David Parker, the head of the Vocal Department at the Canberra School of Music, and Marie Van Hove, an accompanist at the School of Music. They bring to the project many years of experience in opera houses both in Australia and overseas.

Anyone wishing to take part either on stage or behind the scenes in set construction, costume making, technical production, or in just a general capacity, is warmly encouraged to get in touch in any of the following ways:

- ring the Canberra School of Music during the day on 467 852;
- ring Andrew Collis on 951 249
- leave a note for Andrew Collis on the board in the Law Library.

The success of the Workshop depends upon the enthusiasm which is shown on the campus. So, if you are interested and would like to be involved, then get in touch. No previous experience is necessary, nor is any musical ability. All the operas will be performed in English. All that is needed is a desire to participate and a willingness to work at it.

DREAMING

John lay dreaming. Time was irrelevant. He lay on a bed in a room among rooms in the city. The city knew him not. He was unimportant. Another unimportant person was curled in an armchair listening to the neighbour's stereo playing a song. The mournful singer sang: "The innocence of sleeping children, Dressed in white and slowly dreaming Stop all time."

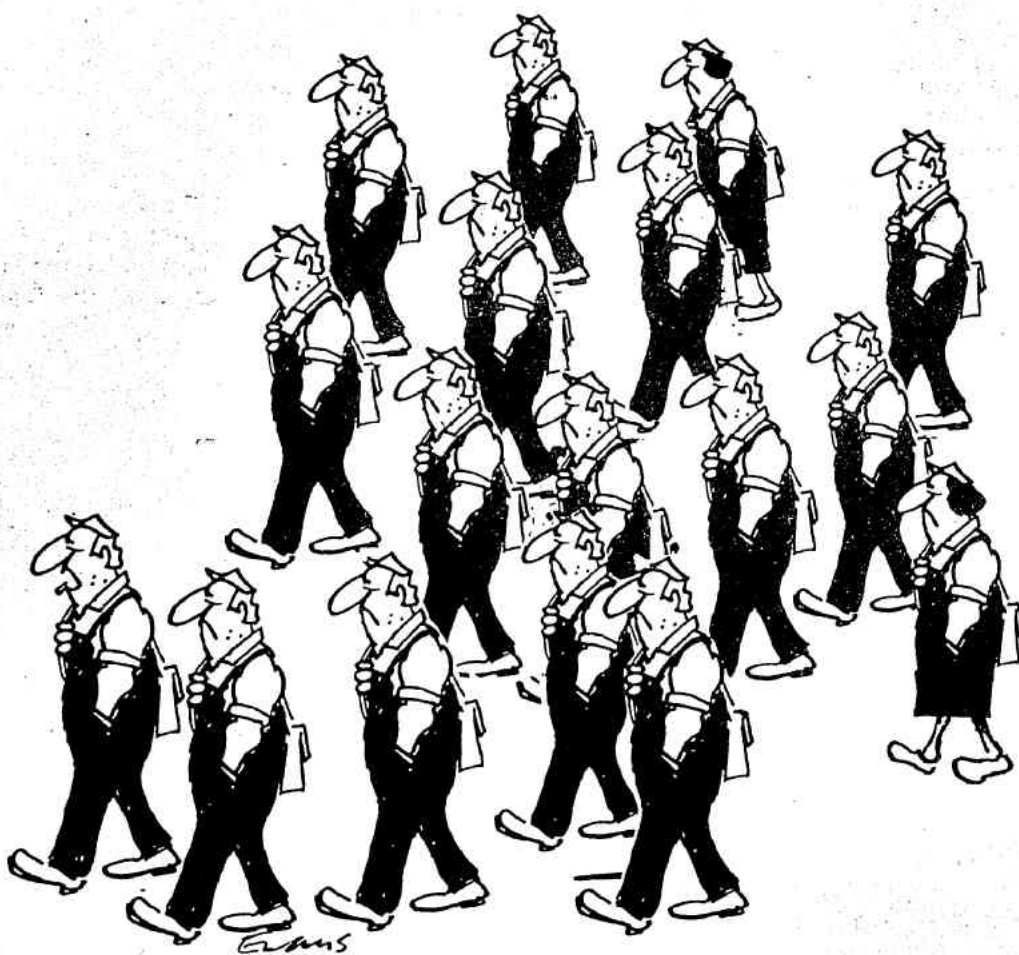
The night air in the city was heavy and warm. It was still, ruffled only by the transitory sounds of engines and tyres that glided past the sleeping houses.

John dreamed. In his dream he could do what he liked, though he didn't know this. He hadn't dreamed for ages, or, rather, he couldn't remember dreaming since he had suffered a string of nightmares as a child which his mother cured with a sleeping pill at bed-time for a week.

Now John dreamed again. The dream was so real to John that he didn't realise it was a dream. In this dream everything was exciting. Boring things, like driving to work, or sleeping didn't happen. Boring people weren't allowed to become boring. They ceased to exist when John left them, or was talking to someone else. Everybody smiled in John's dream, or was on the verge of doing so. John was happy. He didn't realise this. If he had have, logic would have demanded a reason. John didn't have a reason. He would have stopped dreaming if logic had been allowed to intrude.

John dreamed on. He enjoyed himself. Everybody around him enjoyed themselves and there was always action. It took John no time to get from here to there, logic was securely locked on the outside of John's head. Logic consoled itself by watching John's bedside AM/FM clock-radio silently, methodically measure the minutes.

Logic was ready for action, ready for a good day's work when the clock started to moan in John's ear at 6:59.



The dream stopped. Time started again for John. Logic assumed control:

1. Get up
2. Shower and dress
3. Breakfast and paper
4. Got to work.

John was on his way to work as the sun rose above a bank of easterly clouds. He had spoken without deeming it necessary to bring it to John's attention; it was not relevant to John's work or his life, not that there was much difference between the two.

John drove to work. He did not see a single plant, except for the struggling flowers in a narrow plot beside his driveway. He always had to avoid the flowers as he backed his car out.

John liked his work. It demanded intelligence, logic and persistence. He was good at his job. Not many people understood what his job was. It was hard to explain exactly what he did, so on the rare occasions that people actually asked what his job was, they were informed that he worked in an office of a large accountant's firm. Nobody pursued that line of questioning. They often realised

that they had finished their drink and went for a refill, or saw an old friend whom they hadn't seen for years, at the other end of the room.

John listened to the news and stock market while he ate his lunch, although he never bought any shares (He had thought of doing so once, time flies.) John drove home with the afternoon traffic, and ran over the front row of little flowers in the out-of-place flower garden.

John rarely watched television, preferring a good novel, or a book on politics, especially biographies of politicians he knew well from the news and paper, and from listening to them on parliamentary radio broadcasts. John also liked reading chess books, and often looked forward, when at work, to a good game or three with his chess machine after dinner. He often beat the machine; Logic is useful.

One night, as John was lying in bed, he wondered briefly why he never dreamed. He fell asleep before he could think of an answer.

As John dreamed, logic once again sat at its silent vigil, waiting for 6:50am.

by Stephen Pratt

EAST TIMOR:-SHAME WHITLAM SHAME

Book Review:

James Dunn, *Timor: A People Betrayed*, Jacaranda Press, 1983 \$14.

East Timor is back in the news again with the return of the five-member parliamentary delegation last week. So, very timely was the launching of this book earlier in the week.

At the launching, there were three things that came across very strongly. The first of these concerns Jim Dunn himself. He has served as the Australian Consul to East Timor, was later a director specialising on East Timor for the Legislative Research Service in Canberra and visited East Timor in 1974 on a fact-finding mission for the Department of Foreign Affairs. So the book is the product of more than twenty years of involvement with East Timor. There would be few Australians in a better position to speak with authority about an issue still shrouded in mystery eight years after the Indonesian invasion.

The second point that came out was Jim Dunn's sincerity. The book (which I have almost finished reading)

is, above all, a tribute to the tragedy of the Timorese. Only a few hundred miles from Darwin perhaps 200,000 people have died violently in the last few years. We tend to forget that this is of the order of the Pol Pot massacres and has taken place on our very doorstep!

Yet Jim Dunn sees the 1975 invasion as a tragedy for Indonesia also, and this is where what he has to say becomes relevant to 1983. He has had a long love affair with Indonesia and was one of the first of Australia's diplomats to speak Bahasa Indonesia. In the book he goes to great lengths to stress that the decision to invade was made by only a handful of generals against the advice of many officials. Even against the inclinations of President Suharto himself! Dunn is obviously dismayed that the deaths of 20,000 Indonesian soldiers should be caused by the Machiavellian scheming of only a few right-wing army generals.

Which brings me to the third point that I want to make about what became clear at the book launching. Dunn was introduced to the audience by Senator McIntosh who was one of the delegates that has just returned to Australia. Now, McIntosh has a reputation of some integrity and a willingness to make an impartial judgement. But what sort of information could possibly be obtained from a three-day (3-day!) fly-in/fly-out visit to East Timor? A visit, moreover,



where they were 'escorted' by Indonesian military officers and 'assisted' by interpreters chosen by the Indonesian side. It is clear that the five-man delegation has no authority to speak about the facts in East Timor! As McIntosh himself explained.

"Serious doubt must be held on the accuracy of the interpretation we obtained."

Most seriously, the delegation failed to make contact with the Fretelin nationalist army because the Indonesians translated "nearby village" as a "village a 10 kilometre walk from here"! As McIntosh himself has said

"We have heard what the Australian government wants. We have heard what the Indonesian and Portuguese governments want for the East Timorese. But what we haven't heard is the opinion of what the Timorese

want for themselves!"
(Quotes from Background Briefing, ABC Radio, 14 August)

So here we have it!

- A 'non-partisan' parliamentary delegation advised chiefly by the Department of Foreign Affairs,
- A Foreign Affairs department chiefly advised on Indonesian affairs by a right-wing military clique in Jakarta
- The delegation finds that Jakarta is winning the 'hearts and minds' of the people.

Yet how could it be that a delegation could go to East Timor and not speak with the organisation that claims to control 70% of the territory and to represent the true aspirations of the Timorese? How is it that the Labor Government is in the process of ditching its party plat-

form? The answers to these important questions are to be found in this book. Dunn explains how, in the crucial period of 1974, the balance swung away from those in the Indonesian military elite who were preaching caution and towards a more aggressive position. The crucial factor was that Whitlam virtually gave Indonesia a 'green light' on East Timor's incorporation by force. Suharto himself was keen to keep his image as an international statesman clean. He was inclined to resist getting caught up in a costly and bloody local war where Indonesia would be labelled as an "aggressive, expansionary military dictatorship" etc. But there were others in Suharto's inner circle (especially Generals Ali Murtopo and Benny Murdani) who wanted to throw caution to the wind, to 'clean up' East Timor and to this prevent the new nationalist government of Fretilin from consolidating.

In speaking to Jim Dunn himself, he has claimed that the crucial factor in the victory of the Indonesian military 'hawks' over the 'doves' was that Whitlam, with Foreign Affairs advice, in effect closed off other options. For example, Australia refused to take part in a four-nation peace-keeping force before an internationally-supervised general election could be held!

So the Timor story also becomes a tragedy for Australia. Our complicity shows just how short-sighted the foreign policy of this country has been. On Indonesia, the diplomats of our Department of Foreign Affairs have been subservient to only a very small section of the Indonesian government and so they have access to an even smaller section of Indonesian public opinion. These diplomats continue to give the foreign policy of the present Labor Government a reactionary stamp.

This book, therefore, is a good, salutary reminder of the need for an independent Australian foreign policy. The struggle within East Timor is still going on. But even if you ignore reports of continued armed struggle, and accept that East Timor will, in the long run, be incorporated as Indonesia's twenty-seventh province, the book reminds us that the struggle is now for the protection of the human rights and culture of the Timorese. This can't be done if we continue to accept Indonesia's intervention as a fait accompli and the suffering of the Timorese as something 'of the past'. Bravo Jim Dunn!

Fulbright Awards

Thirty-two awards for study in the United States in the 1984/85 academic year are being offered by the Australian-American Educational Foundation through the Commonwealth Department of Education and Youth Affairs.

The Fulbright awards are offered in three categories - senior, post-doctoral and postgraduate. All candidates for the awards must be Australian citizens and they must agree to return to Australia after completing their studies. All awards are for three to 12 months, beginning between 1 July 1984 and 30 June 1985.

Senior and postgraduate awards are travel grants only and are restricted to covering the costs of return travel from Australia to the United States at the most economical airfare rates available. Postdoctoral fellowships, in addition to covering these travel costs, provide a maintenance allowance of \$US9,000 (approx. \$A10,000) per annum.

Twelve senior awards will be offered in 1984 to people, who hold senior academic posts or are senior practising members of their professions, and who wish to study, lecture or undertake re-

search in the United States.

Ten postdoctoral fellowships will be offered to support people who are about to complete, or who have recently completed, their doctorates and who wish to accept a postdoctoral appointment in the United States. Awards in this category are designed to enable grantees to conduct postdoctoral research, further their professional training or lecture at a university.

Ten awards will be offered for graduate students wishing to:

- undertake an approved course of study for an American higher degree or its equivalent;
- engage in research applicable to an Australian higher degree; or
- undertake advanced professional training;

Applications close on 30 September 1983; and application forms and further information are available from:

The Secretary,
Commonwealth Department of
Education and Youth Affairs,
(AAEF Awards)
PO Box 826,
WODEN ACT 2606.

Written on the Day after the Feast of our Lord's Transfiguration

Wearing the church like a bowler-hat,
Or an intimate threat to me and m' cat,
I feasted yesterday on pizza and wine,
For Christ's transfiguration became simply mine:

And God's blood gave me a pleasant glow,
And gave me no hangover, and no so-and-so
Could make me feel guilty about today's neglect
Of mass in the morning in Canberra dialect -

For Latin is banished and Australian reigns,
As MacQuarrie's dictionary so deftly explains -
So good-bye Canterbury, and good-bye Rome,
And good-bye Westminster, for sand and foam

Of southern beaches have marked me out
As an Aussie hero, and a colonial lout,
And gum-thick mountains with trunks like white nerves
Have brought me more joy than the altar-boy serves.

- R.E. McArthur

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE
Henry David Thoreau
(1817-1862)

What does this mean?

An Introduction

Thoreau has received a name in history as a great writer, poet and 'All American Forefather'. Whether he deserves the first two distinctions I wouldn't warrant a guess. The last more dubious distinction is one he would definitely deny. There have been few who rival Thoreau in thier contempt and pity for his country. Thoreau was also a naturalist and transcendentalist, all of which is shown clearly in his writings.

A discussion of Thoreau and his essay 'Civil Disobedience' seems to me to be singularly appropriate now for several reasons. For one thing recently there has been an interesting campaign on campus about non-violent resistance and social defence. Thoreau was a great exponent of these techniques which could constitute the revolutionary plan of tomorrow. Thoreau also has a great deal to say about revolution and social change through government institutions. All of which radical action groups at this University and all over could well take heed of. Thoreau's ideas might be stated in a trite and shallow way by the slogan -

"If voting could change the system
It wouldn't be legal."

Finally Thoreau wrote at a time of great oppression and grotesque expansionism in the United States (Slavery and the Mexican War were principal concerns of Thoreau). His comments then have not lost their pertinence. The USA is still abusing Central American countries. 'Civil Disobedience' is a truly great and lasting tirade against government, apathy and that form of mob politics without conscience which is called 'democracy'. Furthermore it demonstrates the use of 'passive resistance as a revolutionary tool.

A History Lesson

Thoreau was born in 1817 in Concord, Massachusetts, the son of a pencil maker. He attended Harvard College where he probably heard the American writer and transcendentalist, Emerson, speak. In 1841 he joined Emerson's household as a companion and handyman. He built up a relationship with Emerson which lasted till the end of his life and was central in Thoreau's development (Emerson's own views bordered on Anarchism).

In 1845 Thoreau settled by Walden Pond on some land belonging to Emerson. He passed about two and a half years there, living not as a hermit - that was not his intention - but as a scholar disengaged from worldly affairs. Thoreau kept a journal of his times there, which he used extensively in both his books (the journals themselves have since been published and are fawned over extensively by those elements of America which are reflected by such edifying rags as 'Readers Digest'). Thoreau's first book 'A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers' was published in 1849 soon after he left Walden Pond. Later he wrote a book specifically about his time in isolation called 'Walden', which was published in 1854. This is apparently thought highly of by those who know; I don't.

In his later years Thoreau lived mainly with his family, visited various parts of New England and Canada, and acquired a certain notoriety for his passionate defence of the abolitionist John Brown. In 1862 he died.

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Not an Anarchist

Thoreau was not really an anarchist. Despite the fact that most of his political ideas were anarchist he would not have called himself one. He did not call, in practice, for no government at all, he said,

"... to speak practically and as a citizen, unlike those who call themselves no-government men, I ask for, not at once no government, but at once a better government."

Thoreau is very much an individualist in some ways very similar to the 'Egoist' of Max Stirner. Yet he allows that immediately there should be a government which could be served with conscience, rather than demanding the immediate annihilation of all forms of government.

Government

Thoreau agrees with the slogan that, "That government is best which governs least". But he carries the idea one step further "Carried out, it finally amounts to this, which I also believe; that government is best which governs not at all."

Thoreau has a long and strong list of arguments to support this claim. (I make no excuses for using mostly quotations from Thoreau's 'Civil Disobedience' in the presentation of these arguments. His words are more intense than any I could dream up.)



Thoreau considers also the act of voting in a democracy and he sees it as a crutch for the apathetic and a denial of personal responsibility. He says,

"All voting is a sort of gaming, like checkers or backgammon, with a slight moral tinge to it, a playing with right and wrong, with moral questions; and betting naturally accompanies it. The character of the voter is not staked. I cast my vote, perchance, as I think right; but I am not vitally concerned that that right should prevail. I am willing to leave it to the majority."

"Even voting for the good is doing nothing for it. It is only expressing to men feebly your desire that it should prevail."

"I wise man will not leave the right to the mercy of chance, nor wish it to prevail through the power of the majority."

Governments get in the way of the people they are supposed to act for. "Government is at best an expedient; but most governments are usually, and all governments are sometimes, inexpedient."

"Government is an expedient by which men would fain succeed in letting one another alone: and, as has been said, when it is most expedient, the governed are most left alone by it."

"Trade and Commerce, if they were not made of india-rubber, would never manage to bounce over the obstacle which legislators are continually putting in their way; and, if one were to judge these men wholly by the effects of their actions, . . . they would deserve to be classed and punished with those mischievous persons who put obstructions on the railroads."

The government which is in theory the organ through which the will of the people is gained can be perverted and used to uphold the will of a very few unscrupulous people, "The government itself, which is only the mode which the people have chosen to execute their will, is liable to be abused and perverted before the people can act through it." Thoreau uses the example of the Mexican War to support this, where a comparatively few individuals used the standing government as a tool, the people, Thoreau says, would never have consented to the war. I can think of a dozen contemporary examples for Thoreau's point.

And now let us consider the basis for a 'democratic' government, the 'majority'. Why does the majority rule? "Not because they are more likely to be right, nor because this seems fairest to the minority, but because they are physically the strongest."

This does not seem like a particularly great basis for government. King Arthur didn't think "might was right" neither did Thoreau and neither do I. As will be seen later Thoreau thought that the only acceptable basis for government is each person's conscience and the best government is a government with such a basis (and such a government would not govern at all).



The Individual

When Thoreau wrote American had comparatively recently rejected the government of a monarch for a democracy. Now Thoreau has found this form of government lacking; and what should take its place? A better government. A government in which the individual conscience takes precedence over all external sources of moral decision.

Such a government clearly would be one which did not govern. For to govern is to impose an external will as would not be acceptable to any individual conscience.

"Can there not be a government in which majorities do not decide right and wrong, but conscience?"

"Must the citizen even for a moment, or in the least degree, resign his conscience to the Legislator? Why has every man a conscience, then? I think that we should be men first and subjects afterward."

This can be seen to be a lot of fairly nebulous gibberish about consciences. But what he is trying to say is that "the only obligation which I have a right to assume is to do at any time what I think right." Virtually every Anarchist thinker arrives eventually at this statement and Thoreau is having the same problem every other thinker has in trying to say this in a way that does not sound too chaotic. I do not think he succeeds any better than most. By bringing 'conscience' into it he is assuming that basically humans want to do "right" and "good" things. He is assuming a "good" human nature (as many Anarchists do). This has never been proven to exist and it is largely an act of faith not argument to say that it does.

Individuals should not respect any laws which do not coincide with their own consideration of the RIGHT. To do so is to be a machine or an instrument of the state worth no more than a hammer or a nail.

"It is not desirable to cultivate a respect for the law, so much as for the right." "Law never made men a whit more just; and, by means of their respect for it, even the well-disposed are daily made agents of injustice."

Take for example a soldier, a person (perhaps) with good intentions. "Visit the Navy-Yard, and behold a marine, such a man as the American government can make, or such as it can make a man with its black arts, a mere shadow and reminiscence of humanity, a man laid out alive and standing, and already buried under arms with funeral accompaniments."

"the mass of men serve the state thus, not as men mainly, but as machines, with their bodies."

Civil Disobedience

Think freely, Thoreau says, and act only according to your conscience. He then describes a method of action. It is not necessarily your duty to spend your life trying to correct every wrong perpetuated but it is the duty of every right minded person to disassociate themselves from such wrongs; to have no part in such matters and not to help them. When the state is at fault, abandon it. This is the act of civil disobedience.

If there is an injustice in the state it is not necessarily your primary concern to fight this injustice. (This is not to say that if the remedy comes your way you should not use it, but you needn't search for it.) Now if the injustice is not merely a "friction in the machine" of the state, but an organ and inherent part of it, perhaps then action should be considered, and, if the remedy is not worse than the evil, taken. But when the state requires that you be the "agent of injustice to another, then I say, break the law. Let your life be the counter friction to stop the machine."

Thoreau's case in point is the question of slavery. He withdrew his support from his state so long as it should be a slave state. Primarily this meant that he would pay no taxes. He was put in gaol for this action.

While Thoreau's actions may have been largely useless it is possible to see immediately the application of the concept of simply removing the people's tacit support of a government completely. It is one stage beyond a strike action.

Tolstoy and Gandhi are both said to have read and thought highly of Thoreau's ideas. A number of French anarchists including Bellegarrique thought highly enough of 'civil disobedience' to incorporate it into their own theories. And certain modern theories of passive resistance resemble Thoreau's act of conscience greatly. "Action from principle", each person acting according to their own conscience, is in itself "essentially revolutionary"

Change from Within

Having shown what he believes to be the effective way of arriving at a good government by stepping outside the government, Thoreau explains why he thinks that change cannot occur through the system.

It is a common misconception that changes can be achieved by democratic double talk and ignorant yet smug 'policy decisions'. These are the state-provided organs for change.

"As for adopting the ways the state has provided for remedying the evil, I know not of such ways. They take too much time, and a man's life will be gone."

"It is not my business to be petitioning the Governor or the legislature any more than it is theirs to petition me."

Thoreau returns to the slave question and says —

"Those who call themselves Abolitionists should at once effectually withdraw their support, both in person and property, from the government of Massachusetts and not wait till they constitute a majority of one, before they suffer the right to prevail through them."

Another Opinion

The power of the essay "On Civil Disobedience" does not arise from its reasoning: indeed Thoreau makes little effort to argue his position. It derives rather from the intensity of his conviction, the courage of his defiance, and the vitriol of his contempt for mere power and numbers. Underlying his attitude is the transcendentalist image of the

self-reliant human, with which Thoreau was prone to identify himself. He conveys this by threading "Civil Disobedience" with the continuous use of the word "man" in a normative sense.

"I think that we should be men first and subjects afterward." The effect is to imply that most humans are not "men" — In Thoreau's imagery they are primarily machines, passive instruments of state or social power — but that the ideal of "manhood" remains which will be immediately recognisable when it is appealed to. The doing of "What I think right" depends almost exclusively upon the acknowledgement of some universally available ideal, for Thoreau does not bother to define, except by negation, what he means by "right".

Finally, at times Thoreau evidently feels himself alone with his burden of conscience and slips into the role of some biblical prophet crying out against the evils of a humanity constitutionally sunk in sloth, habit and cynicism and docile obedience of the law.

David Barz
Scott Ogilvie

SECOND NATIONAL FILM EVENT:

SHOHEI IMAMURA

Presented by the Australian Film Institute, the second National Film Event concentrates of the major works of unorthodox Japanese Film Director, Shohei Imamura. The first National Film Event, held in Canberra in May this year, focussed on Rainer Werner Fassbinder. As Fassbinder, the wunderkind of German cinema, explored the limits and tested the bounds of narrative film, Shohei Imamura employs an aggressively heightened realism. . . . "I want to make messy, really human, Japanese, unsettling films". In his work, Imamura challenges traditional conceptions of Japanese society and concentrates on the 'underside' of Japanese life. Imamura's 'cultural anthropologism' is far from dull — in fact, his films are among the most eccentric, dramatic and uncompromising of all Japanese films. Imamura is at the summit of his achievement, having just won the Grand Prix at the Cannes Film Festival this year for his remake of the Kinoshita classic, "The Ballad of Narayama".

Held in conjunction with the Imamura film event will be an exhibition of Japanese Experimental Film from 1960-1980, featuring twenty rarely-seen works of Japanese contemporary cinema.



The programme has been selected by Donald Ritchie, noted film historian, filmmaker and observer of Japanese culture who has also researched and prepared a specifically commissioned AFI monograph on Imamura.

Special international guest, Audie Bock, will be visiting Canberra for the opening of the Film Event. Ms Bock has worked on Japanese cinema projects in both the United States and Japan and has taught Japanese cinema at Yale and Harvard Universities. Ms Bock also edited and co-authored the education material for the 1975 PBS television series, "The Japanese Film", and since then has served as Film Program Co-ordinator for the Japan Society of New York. She has written film reviews for the Japan Times, acted as Akira Kurosawa's official translator in America and has recently completed the English version of Kurosawa's just-published autobiography.

The second National Film Event will be screened in Canberra from 29 August - 8 September at the National Library Theatre Theatre, Parkes Place.

PROGRAMME

- National Library Theatre
Parkes Place
CANBERRA. Enquiries: 72 7431.
- Monday Aug 29th 7.30pm
Opening Night. To be announced.
 - Tuesday Aug 30th 7.30pm THE PORNOGRAPHERS
 - Wednesday Aug 31st 7.30pm
JAPANESE EXPERIMENTAL FILM I
 - Thursday Sept 1st 7.15pm
KARAYUKI-SAN, THE MAKING OF A PROSTITUTE. Plus IN SEARCH OF UNRETURNED SOLDIERS.
 - Monday Sept 5th 7.30pm
JAPANESE EXPERIMENTAL FILM II
 - Tuesday Sept 6th 7.00pm
PROFOUND DESIRE OF THE GODS
 - Wednesday Sept 7th 7.30pm
HISTORY OF POST-WAR JAPAN
 - Thursday Sept 8th 7.30pm
EIJANAIIKA

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TOORA - SINGLE WOMENS SHELTER

Toora is now open. It provides short to medium term accommodation for women over the age of 16 unaccompanied by children, and also provides information and advice.

The telephone number is 47 2438.

COMMUNIST STUDENT COLLECTIVE —

The following document is the Education Policy of the Communist Student Collective of the ANU.

This policy is not submitted as a motion for the S.A. The reason the Collective has not submitted this policy is that we feel that policy of the Association should not be paper which is filed away in minute books, but instead, should be the basis from which students work.

Obviously not all of the issues raised in this paper have been addressed at the ANU. It is the belief of the Collective that such issues should be thought about, debated and struggled for before becoming the formal policy of the Association.

Rather than submitting the full policy, members of the Collective will move amendments to the Education policies moved tonight. These amendments, we believe, provide an important shift of emphasis which is vital for any coherent policy. We ask you to listen and participate in the debate, read it and think and act around the issues it raises.

Australia is a male dominated capitalist society. The aim of this system is to make profits. This is achieved by the exploitation of women, workers, minorities and the environment. The relations of class, race and gender exploitation are perpetuated by coercion legitimised through the state and by complacency induced by the dominant bourgeois ideology.

The university plays an important role in continuing this oppression. It is also very important in reproducing the ideology which justifies the status quo. This applies to the place of universities in post-school education generally as well as to current forms of culture and thought.

The division between theoretical and administrative "learning" and practical and trades training; and the allocation of higher status to university learning is instrumental in the perpetuation of structural inequalities between classes, races and genders.

Currently there is an entrenched notion that, by attending university, students will gain a 'satisfying and well-paid career' and a step up in the class structure.

This idea encourages students to compete with each other to gain individual 'knowledge'. This concept is shown to be false by the increasing number of students living below the poverty line and graduating onto the dole queue.

CSC maintains close theoretical and practical links with the CPA. We regard the raising of consciousness and the encouragement of autonomous social and progressive movements, within which the party works, as the first step towards achieving socialism in Australia.

The aim of such work is to improve living conditions, increase worker and community control of production, and to expose the contradictions in capitalism and its accompanying ideological structures.

As students in the CSC, our workplace is the university. But students cannot be removed from their other social contexts. Students may be women, workers, parents, migrants, black and white.

C.S.C. works to improve access and material conditions for less privileged students. This work, if successful, breaks down the structures which perpetuate elitist influences on the attitudes, experiences and activism of students.

In this context the work of the C.S.C. has three aims:

- the improvement of access and material conditions for students.
- integrating students' needs and interests with those of the wider community.
- exposing and challenging the repression and inequalities produced by a system that is based on the pursuit of private profit.

CURRICULUM & IDEOLOGY Community-inspired Curriculum

The amount of various types of "instruction" within the university and the degree of change and innovation within these areas is generally determined by the State and other capitalist institutions (industry, "the professions", etc.). Needs and demands from the wider community generally do not influence such decisions as the allocation of funds, provision of facilities for increased training in particular areas, etc.

There are many examples by which it can be seen that the community has little influence over curriculum. The much publicized "Over-supply of lawyers" belies the dire need of many community groups for cheap, responsible legal protection. The number of teachers who can be "trained" is restricted by government funding arrangements, while student-teacher ratios remain high and decline only slowly. Community languages such as Vietnamese, Spanish, Greek and Serbo-Croatian receive insufficient attention by schools and post-school institutions. The predominance of languages such as French, German (and Latin) is justified by the educational establishment because of "cultural, historic and linguistic ties".

In the short term, we must integrate into existing university structures an appraisal of conditions in the wider community.

- we must integrate into all science courses and units material concerning the "accountability" of scientists, how "scientific objectivity" mystifies and distorts the power implications of science.

- we should stress the need for wider choices of courses, particularly transdisciplinary courses which break down the artificial divisions between departments, such as women's studies, Aboriginal Studies, Population/Urban Studies, Political Economy, Religious Studies, Peace Studies, Semester courses in culture. Knowledge in these fields tends to be less abstract and consequently more able to be adapted towards particular community demands whilst retaining an intellectual perspective. This general broadening of perspective is one of the factors required to break down the silence and other artificial barriers which the ruling classes exploit for their own benefit.

There is then a general need for curriculum to be oriented towards demands in the community rather than towards the demands of big business, the State, and conservative pressure groups. Yet it is not desirable that the university hierarchy react to community needs, but rather that the community itself participate in the propagation of the skills concerned. Towards this end, *community access to the university needs to be greatly increased*. In the short term this could be achieved by campaigning for -

- increased funding to universities,
- for substantial funding for all students,
- longer library hours
- more adequate and extensive childcare facilities.

Our long-term aim is the merging of all post-school institutions with the wider community. The hierarchy of post-school institutions (universities, CAEs, TAFEs) serves to distinguish certain broad social groups from others; this is achieved through the widely different content and quality of courses taught. The separation of universities, CAEs and TAFEs reinforces status and power divisions. Furthermore, the dichotomy between these institutions and the community into which "trainees" will eventually enter perpetuates many other divisions; between intellectual and physical work;

between the vocationally and the less-vocationally trained; between the "high-status jobs" and the "lower-status jobs".

New courses and initiatives such as Political Economy, reading groups and Peace Studies need not be merged with the existing university structures, but could operate autonomously as "counter-institutions" until these are recognised and hierarchical, isolationist university structures are changed.

RACISM AND ETHNIC DISCRIMINATION

Racism and ethnic discrimination on campus is not conveyed so much in explicit forms as through silences and implicit assumptions. The virtual absence of Aborigines and Islanders on campus, for example, increases the likelihood that the points of view of these peoples will be neglected.

Similarly, few courses give credit to the culture and history of Aboriginal people as an integral part of Australia's history.

Discussions on the role of respective disciplines in society need to offer explanations of why ethnic and racial minorities tend to be severely under-represented on campus. The basis for this discrimination must be uncovered.

More immediately, courses such as Aboriginal Studies should be expanded, as should be the possibilities and practical preconditions for a wider base of community-language teaching and the teaching of semester-units in language and culture.

SEXISM

This society is male dominated and bias against women is evident on campus as elsewhere.

1. Women are seldom free from the fear of rape, sexual assault, and harassment. The ANU should help to counter this by providing better lighting and security on campus at night, and by providing women-only rooms in all buildings and libraries.

2. Curriculum and learning structures present a male view of the world. The silences and biased images of women must be challenged. The Women's Studies programme should be expanded. Texts, course content, and specific units dealing with women should be introduced in every department.

3. In academic structures women are disadvantaged. Fewer women than men have academic tenure and the absence of women in powerful positions is evident, particularly in the sciences. This is in part the effect of socialised low self-esteem in women. Thus positive intervention programmes are needed to encourage women to take further and higher degrees.

4. This bias against women is perpetuated by employment conditions which disadvantage women with childrearing and other commitments, and by the exclusion of women from "old-boy" networks which control access to publication of research. Conditions for women academics should be improved and all appointments made with a view to redressing gender imbalances.

5. Women are disadvantaged in the classroom by the lack of female role models and the general 'invisibility' induced through sexist language (the use of 'he' and 'man' exclusively) bias in textbook examples, and by the lack of teacher attention. This must be overcome by in service training.

6. The gendered division of labour in our society has the effect of discouraging women from undertaking courses with scientific or technological bases and of concentrating women in courses of lower status and lesser consequent job prospects. The division of labour also burdens women with a double workload of childrearing and domestic work as well as university or employment.

These structures must be challenged and changed, both in material and ideological terms. Appropriate support facilities for women must be provided, including childcare and health services. Curriculum must be reformed to challenge and overcome limited notions of 'women's work'.

7. Part of the male bias in our culture is the implicitly compulsory 'heterosexuality' prevalent. Bias against homosexuality must be eliminated from curriculum and the acceptance and understanding of lesbianism, homosexuality, bisexuality and celibacy should be promoted to counter prevalent homophobia.

ACCESS

Education is a social process of benefit to the whole community and should be free of charge to all students.

1. Formal and informal entrance requirements restrict the numbers and the sorts of people who gain access to universities.

a) formal entry: is dependent on matriculation. The university accepts only those who have succeeded in formal schooling. This extends class, race, gender and sexuality discrimination.

The ANU should -

- introduce or extend bridging courses through CCE
- allocate places for Aborigines non-english speakers and those at geographic disadvantage, and actively seek out such applicants.
- allow greater flexibility in entry requirements for those with special disabilities, mature and overseas students.
- ensure that adequate study leave and support is available for PAMS.

b) informally, entrance and completion of courses is more difficult for some students than others. The ANU should equalise education opportunity by

- ensuring the provision of a basic wage for students which is above the "poverty line".
- providing emergency loans and conditions for students in crisis.
- providing adequate accommodation and study space.
- introducing transport concessions and facilities for both commuting students and those who come from far distances to study.

2. Women often face particular difficulties at University because of socially induced low self esteem, and extra workload burdens and financial hardship caused by gender-division of labour. The ANU should:

- make the campus safer for women by providing better security and lighting
- provide adequate low cost needs based community childcare
- offer women-only spaces in libraries and other work areas to combat the debilitating effects of sexual harassment.

EDUCATION AND THE COMMUNITY

3. The university should be more responsive to the needs of this multi-cultural society by:

- providing special study assistance to those for whom English is a second language.
- offering multi-lingual texts and audio-visual materials
- ensure that courses offered account for the demands of Aboriginal communities.
- encourage Anglo Saxon students to learn other languages as part of all courses offered.

4. The development of new technology potentially alters and improves learning. The ANU should increase the quality of access by:

- providing tape and video recording of lectures and tutes
- introducing media as a way of study and assessing work

5. Library services should be extended to include:

- longer opening hours, particularly at weekends
- the provision of group study areas
- extended photocopy services and relief from copyright restrictions.
- greater allocation of resources to short loan facilities
- increased inter-library co-operation particularly with the National Library
- removal of all restrictions on community access to university facilities.

THE LEARNING PROCESS

1. The western pedagogical tradition is based on institutional structures of authority and control. In the ANU this is evident in every classroom where a teacher "dispenses" her/his superior knowledge to passive recipients, the students.

Here students absorb information that has been abstracted from its material context. We learn deference to the "great men" of each discipline, and we learn acceptance of authority as we fulfill the requirements of a degree.

A) The ANU should aim in the long term, for education structures which encourage co-operation and creativity in academic endeavour, and for the reintegration of intellectual and practical pursuits, and of research with teaching.

B) In the short term many aspects of teacher/student power relations can be altered. Students and teachers should sit in small groups in circles rather than in rows focussed on the teacher. More seminar-oriented courses could replace lectures. Research and practical components of courses should be expanded. Such changes would help to break down the individual authority figure image which dominates current learning structures.

2. An essential feature of hierarchical learning structures is their inherent male bias. Not only is the university dominated by a tradition of competition and individual achievement, but the curriculum itself is almost exclusively a male perspective couched in pseudo-'objective' language. This pervades power structures everywhere, and the classroom is no exception. Women are at a particular disadvantage because they must internalise material which is gender biased against them, and must deal with the male-dominated power hierarchies which characterise the classroom. Sexism in textbooks and language is only one aspect of the bias against women. Sexual harassment is the unwanted intrusion of a student's personal space. This disadvantages the student in her studies and places her in a particularly powerless position.

sexual harassment may be anything from being stared at to academic rape, (being offered better grades in exchange for sex). The male bias in our culture tacitly supports this behaviour in men and binds women into silence, discomfort and fear. This powerlessness cannot be easily overcome by women. An efficient, confidential and supportive grievance procedure must be adopted to deal with sexual harassment. Such a procedure must have the power to dismiss staff or students who harass women and must be well publicised to all students and staff. Counter-sexist initiatives in classroom practice are an important form of the prevention of sexual harassment. In service training in counter-sexist practices should be provided for all staff.

* Greater flexibility in deadlines and weighting of different assessable course components can be achieved through the introduction of assessable work-in-progress seminars, and field work. An assessment scheme suited to group projects and co-operative research needs to be developed and included among assessment options.

* Student participation in assessment decision-making is vital and more effort is needed to encourage more innovative input. Better practical and inspirational information about teaching and assessment structures should be made available to both students and staff and the Students' Association should ensure that student voices on assessment are heard within the bureaucracy.

UNIVERSITY STRUCTURES

1. Existing administrative structures at ANU allow for little student input in the most powerful decision-making bodies. The ANU should enlarge the scope of its administration to allow for extended student and community participation.

2. The division of the university into discrete compartments such as teaching and research schools, and into faculties and departments is an artificial distortion of enquiry. To widen the focus of university education the ANU should provide greater flexibility in combined and transdisciplinary studies, with the ultimate aim of abolishing faculties altogether.

3. Learning structures with compulsory units and courses which have prerequisites for admission form rigid hierarchies of specialised study which often bear no relation to the skills required by society. The ANU should expand options and offer a greater range of discrete units to allow for co-operative non-hierarchical learning projects to be undertaken.

4. Within each department and faculty there is limited access for students to decision-making structures. Student representatives on these committees are often isolated and silenced by lack of staff support. Time in each classroom should be allocated for discussion of forthcoming decisions and student representation should be extended. All departmental and faculty committees should be open for all students to attend, observe and speak, and written material should be widely circulated before meetings are held.



academic isolation

3. Ideally, the learning environment would encourage co-operative creativity and be free from all assessment constraints. In the short term, however, all decisions about assessment, workload, and deadlines should be made with these priorities:

* the extent to which the requirements and needs of each student may differ. All assessment schemes should have maximum flexibility to allow each student to choose the system of assessment best suited to their needs.

* the 'grading' of work is mystifying and encourages competition. Self-assessment and peer assessment should be components of all assessment schemes. All formal grades in academic results should be reduced to Satisfactory/Unsatisfactory and all merit awards or prizes should be cancelled and the funds donated to libraries.

* Students should have the opportunity to undertake courses at the level of intensity they choose. Greater flexibility in the number of assessable components the course offers would have the effect of blurring distinctions between students such as Pass/Honours and part-time/full time: and allow particular projects to be undertaken in as great an intensity as each student requires.



from the social struggle

4. Co-operative learning: learning structures should be conducive to co-operative study. Group projects, discussion groups and reading co-ops can all be introduced to encourage a less isolated, more stimulating learning environment for students. Resources, books and skills can be shared and the practice of communication skills is integrated with learning the coursework. To facilitate the development of co-operative learning, appropriate assessment procedures, library and study areas, and reading groups should be established by the university.

5. The ANU SA should support education activism on every front. To this end the SA should ensure that adequate support and resources are available for student representatives in faculty and departmental committees and that student demands for curriculum and assessment reform are coherently argued. The ANU SA should not limit its focus to agitation within the university bureaucracy but should also support Radical Education Initiatives for the provision of seminars, reading groups, and study co-operatives. These can expand student and community control of learning and encourage the breakdown of pedagogical and bureaucratic control of knowledge.

FAITH BLINDED

NEF
378 947
WOR

'When the Wind Blows', Raymond Briggs, Penguin 1983, \$4.95.

Shocking with its grim humour and bitterness 'When the Wind Blows' takes a fresh look at the tragic effects of a nuclear holocaust.

From a totally novel point of view it horrifies as it conveys the almost ridiculous naivety of a middle-aged couple towards a nuclear holocaust and their belief in the infallibility of government even as they learn that they have three minutes until the destruction of the world.

Briggs's success with this novel comes from his ability to shock with his black humour and this is made yet more effective and frightening by the simple, almost childish cartoons. He shatters the comical illusions of this middle-aged couple, and their faith in 'Official Leaflets'. He laughs at their belief that their 'official' fall-out shelter of doors and cushions will protect them against a five or ten kiloton bomb — after all it was constructed in



compliance with governmental specifications, and he also ridicules Mr and Mrs Bloggs' blind faith in the inevitable downfall of the 'B.J.Key' (K.G.B.), leaders of those nasty Reds, as well as the ultimate triumph of Britain.

Briggs shows the ironic dilemma of the Bloggs when two governmental pamphlets disagree. But this is nothing besides the panic and outrage when they realise that as the television is not working, they will miss the serial on 'Woman's Hour'!

'When the Wind Blows' is an effective and unnerving statement in favour of disarmament. It shows how remote most remain from governmental decisions and how impotent we risk becoming if we let the trivia of day-to-day life dominate our existence.

This stirring book will leave you angry, perhaps bitter, and wondering how close it might come to reality.

Nadine Flood

WHEN THE

WIND BLOWS

COMMONWEALTH AWARDS

Applications are invited from Australians wanting to study in Commonwealth countries next year for awards under the Commonwealth Scholarship and Fellowship Plan (CSFP) which is administered in Australia by the Department of Education and Youth Affairs.

The CSFP awards in 1984 will be for study in the United Kingdom, Canada, Hong Kong, India, Jamaica, Nigeria, and the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago.

The Plan, established in 1959 at the Commonwealth Education Conference at Oxford, provides awards to men and women from all Commonwealth countries — people who are of high intellectual promise and who may also be expected to contribute significantly to life in their own countries when they return from overseas study. The awards are mainly made for postgraduate study or research to men and women who are capable of reaching the highest standard of intellectual achievement.

The awards are generally tenable for two years but this may be varied depending on the study or research program.

Candidates must be Australian citizens or in the process of applying for citizenship, and the age limits vary from country to country but preference will be given to applicants aged 28 to 34.

Because of the strong competition for awards in the United Kingdom and Canada, candidates with a pass degree only, or who are about to complete a pass degree, will not be considered for

awards in these countries. They need to have obtained first-class honours or have the chance of such a result.

For other countries the preferred standard is at least upper second-class honours. However, students with pass degrees and special qualifications, which will suit them for postgraduate research in their chosen field, will not be excluded.

The benefits vary from country to country but they basically include: return economy air fares, university fees, allowances for books, clothing and equipment, a maintenance allowance, and expenses to cover internal travel for approved study.

Candidates who have completed a degree at or attended an Australian university for any period should apply through their university. Application forms are available from the registrars of all Australian universities. The closing date for applications varies with each Australian university and may be obtained from the registrar's office.

Only candidates who have never attended an Australian university should apply directly to the Department of Education and Youth Affairs.

Information and application forms are available from:

The Secretary
CSFP Awards
Department of Education and
Youth Affairs
PO Box 826,
WODEN ACT 2606.

Applications close on 30 September 1983.

WEST ASIAN STUDIES UNDER THREAT

On Friday 27th July there was a meeting of Asian History staff and student representatives. The major topic of discussion was the probable phasing out of West Asian History/Islamic Studies. This issue is not only of concern to students currently enrolled in West Asian Studies but also to the entire student body because it is a reflection of the decreasing number of staff within the University, the lack of concern for students' course plans and the apathy among both staff and students for issues not directly involving themselves.

The few students who showed concern at this meeting were treated as agitators. We were expected to have a pre-knowledge of department politics and history on one hand but met opposition when trying to gain this information on the other. The feeling seemed to be that we were ungrateful for past benefits and demanding too much of university staff and resources. The latter may well be true but at least full support and discussion of the possibilities from all student representatives and staff would have acted as a worthwhile starting point.

Simone Evans
Catherine Millikan

THEY SAY
CUT BACK
WE SAY
FIGHT BACK

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